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PAPERS DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS IN POLISH SITUATION

U.S. Reaction

AU221150 Sofia BTA in English 0822 GMT 22 Dec 81

["Self-Proclaimed Protection Over the Ocean" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Dec (BTA) -- The ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME ideological observer Mr Deyan Pavlov explains the great irritation of official Washington and of the most reactionary imperialist propaganda with the fact that the counterrevolution and its inspirers and protectors over the ocean have failed in Poland. Their behavior confirms the opinion of the progressive people in Poland and throughout the world, he continues, that a global strategy, profoundly reactionary, one which is being opposed to the very objective course of the world history is being applied against a socialist country which is fraternal to us.

Mr Denyan Pavlov stresses that the imperialist forces have made up their minds to impose the absurd idea that the curbing of the revolution in a socialist country, the salvation of a people from calamities means "violence and chaos." He says that this is the logic of reverse values, a world in which liberty means liberty to enslave and rob the greater part of the population, a world in which violation and militarization are dressed in hypocritical phrases like this of "the right of man".

"People who turned the global blackmail, the treachery and the gross lie for the world of socialism into an everyday practice, are making efforts to "moralize" upon the blow inflicted to the enemies of People's Poland", the author writes. In conclusion he says through their overtly proclaimed intentions to step up the anti-Poland, anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaign the U.S. ruling circles and their adherents have unmasked themselves once again before the peace-loving public.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO 22 Dec

AU231319 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 22 December carries on page 5 a 1,200-word report from New York by an unnamed RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent entitled "Why Are They Shedding Crocodile Tears?" Dealing with the opinions of Gus Hall, secretary of the U.S. Communist Party "on the plans for counterrevolution in Poland and on U.S. interference into this country's domestic affairs," the report refers to undated "pamphlets" published by Gus Hall on the subject of counterrevolution in Poland entitled "What Happened in Poland? -- September crisis 1980," and an "analysis" by the same author entitled "Strategy and Tactics of Counterrevolution -- the role of American imperialism in socialist Poland.' The author quotes at length from these writings and praises Gus Hall as "a profound expert on events in Poland who has revealed the basic motivations and causes of the crisis in that country and the role of Western interference."

The same issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries on page 6 three items on Poland from different sources. The first, a 600-word item, is dispatched by BTA from Warsaw and contains a general description of the present situation in Warsaw based on Polish radio and PAP, and in particular an interview given by Marian Wozniak, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to the daily TRYBUNA LUDU on the "general improvement of discipline" and "intensification of the working people's sense of responsibility which makes us believe that we will soon find a way out of the crisis." The report also contains statements by former Solidarity members who "have become aware of the necessity to introduce martial law" and who realize that "the Solidarity leaders tried to come to power at the expense of the workers behind whom they used to hide."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on the same page carries a 500-word report from Warsaw by correspondent Angel Bonev entitled: "Timely Assistance" in which the author, based on TRYBUNA LUDU and PAP sources, describes food supplies and other goods arriving in Poland from the Soviet Union and the GDR, adding: "As TRYBUNA LUDU reports in today's issue, our country will also offer assistance to Poland."

This item is followed by a 600-word report from Moscow by TASS political observer Vladimir Serov entitled "Political Irresponsibility" which refers to an interview given by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig to the CBS TV in which Haig makes statements about Poland with reference to the "Soviet Union's responsibility" for the situation. Serov cites Alexander Haig as saying that the USSR has a "connection" with the measures recently adopted in Poland, and also quotes Defense Secretary Weinberger as stating that the present government in Poland is a "puppet regime."

Serov closes his report as follows: "From all these statements it ensues that Washington is once more trying to force upon other countries and peoples a way of life which is convenient to the United States itself, and to teach these peoples how to live. There is even more. Washington is trying to threaten these countries and peoples with 'measures of influence' or 'punishments' in case they should reject these lessons. These efforts are futile! The Polish people and the Polish state will not tolerate any blackmail or any interference in their domestic affairs. Naturally the attempts to converse with the Soviet Union in the language of blackmail and threats are as futile as the aforementioned ones."

23-27 Dec Reportage

AU281916 [Editorial Report] Sofia dailies of 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27 December continue to carry reports, articles and commentaries both on events in Poland and on foreign reaction to them.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 23 December carries on page 3 a 1,000-word article by Deyan Pavlov entitled "A 'Crusade' Against the World of Socialism" which deals with "imperialist propaganda" against the USSR and the socialist countries in general, but which mainly dwells on the recent campaign on Poland and on "imperialist interference" in Polish events. "This is what happened in fraternal Poland where the enemies of the working people, with the support of foreign reactionary forces, did everything in their power to divert the country from the chosen path toward socialism. The counterrevolutionary forces miscalculated however. The introduction of martial law in Poland on 13 December 1981 is a decisive blow against the diversionist plans of international imperialism and its agencies."

The same RADOTNICHESKO DELO issue carries a 900-word item from Warsaw by BTA correspondent Konstantin Iliev describing factually a press conference at the Polish Foreign Ministry on 22 December in which government spokesman Grunitski denied "false" news spread by Western agencies about the situation in Poland and also dwelled on the case of the "desertion" of former Polish Ambassador to Washington Romuald Spasowski.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 24 December carries three factual items on Poland: A 400-word report on page 5 by BTA correspondent Konstantin Iliev entitled "Life Is Gradually Returning to Normal," and reports on the capture of a Solidarity leader from Gdansk by CSSR border guards, and on his "confession" that he had been one of the "most radical" leaders of the organization. This item is followed by a 300-word BTA news report entitled "Declarations of a Government Speaker" reporting that an unnamed "representative of the Polish Government" informed journalists of the situation in the country and of "the stand of the Polish Government regarding the reaction abroad to martial law in Poland."

The issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries a 900-word report by correspondent Angel Bonev from Warsaw, who reports on statements by Polish workers approving the present "changes in the style and methods of party work." Bonev reports on the "consolidation of people's self-initiative" and cites Polish people who are unanimous in the feeling that "we are heading for better times" since the introduction of martial law.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on the same page also carries a 600-word report by correspondent Georgi Todorchev from New York, who describes the defection of former Polish Ambassador to Washington Spasowski calling him a "Polish Van der Lubbe" and describing how "kindly he was received by President Reagan" and generally critizizing the "unprecedented antisocialist campaign in the United States."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO 25 December carries on page 7 a 900-word BTA report from Warsaw entitled "Situation in Poland" which describes the Military Council session at which Jaruzelski spoke, and praises the "efforts of all patriotic forces among the Polish people to try to overcome the difficulties and lead the country out of the economic and sociopolitical crisis." Basing himself on PAP news items, the unnamed BTA correspondent reports on "a group of terrorists" in the Katowice mines and their activities, describing them as "members of the former Solidarity committee at the plant.

On the same page, RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries a 500-word report by Georgi Todorchev, New York correspondent, on President Reagan's "Christmas message" in which he referred to Poland and which Todorchev interprets as "a blatant attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of Poland."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 26 December on page 5 and other Bulgarian dailies on this date carry a 3,000-word reprint of a PRAVDA article by Valdimir Bolshakov entitled "Interference of U.S. Special Services in the Affairs of the Polish People's Republic", as well as a 400-word report on page 2 about the "fraternal assistance" of Bulgarian citizens, working people and students to Poland, sending "New Year's gifts to People's Poland."

The same issue on page 4 carries a 3,000-word "International Review" by Nencho Khranov in which the "anti-Polish hysteria and its roots" are described in a special 600-word passage, and reference is made to Reagan's Christmas message in this respect. Khranov adds: "The anti-Poland campaign is based on primitive anticommunist habits inherited from the past following the Great October Socialist Revolution. People in the West are spreading incredible lies about the so-called 'terror and horrors' in Poland whose sources are anonymous. There is talk about 'travelers coming from Poland' who are arbitrarily inventing figures about people killed and injured and are using terms such as 'iron-strong dictatorship of the army', 'military junta' and so forth, which apply rather to a number of regimes supported by Washington but have nothing in common with the situation in Poland. The descriptions of 'Soviet interference' are also products of the imagination and consist of stories about 'Soviet officers disguised in Polish uniforms.'"

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 27 December also carries on page 2 a total of 900 words of reports from various provincial towns in Bulgaria where "cordial gifts" are being sent to the Polish people on the New Year.

The dailies on 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27 December mostly repeat the factual news items on Poland carried by RABOTNICHESKO DELO and add a few original comments, such as ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME on 25 December which carries on page 4 an editorial article entitled "Brutal Attempt at Diktat" dealing with President Reagan's references to Poland in his Christmas message, calling them as "anachronistic as Carter's grain embargo against the Soviet Union."

SOVIET ECONOMIC DELEGATION VISITS STARA ZAGORA

AU241044 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] A Soviet Government delegation headed by Nikolay Talyzin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the Soviet side of the Bulgarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, has arrived in Stara Zagora. The delegation is accompanied by Comrade Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Bulgarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation; Toncho Chakurov, minister of machinebuilding industry and electronics; and Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade.

The guests and those accompanying them were welcomed by Vasil Nedev, first secretary of the Stara Zagora Okrug BCP Committee; Mincho Tabakov, chairman of the okrug people's council executive committee; and other local officials.

The members of the Soviet Government delegation, who will attend the festive commissioning of the [name indistinct] thermoelectric power station this afternoon, visited the "red banner" machinebuilding plant in Stara Zagora this morning.

The Soviet guests inspected the organization and technological methods of machines and technical equipment for the processing of food products, a branch in which cooperation with the Soviet Union is of great importance.

OFFICIALS PAY RESPECTS ON BREZHNEV'S BIRTHDAY

AU190821 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Representative groups from all over the country paid respects today at the Soviet Embassy in Sofia. The groups presented their congratulations on the occasion of Leonid Brezhnev's 75th birthday. Members of the bureau of the Sofia City party committee headed by First Secretary Chudomir Aleksandrov, and representatives of the Pernik, Kuystendil, Vratsa and Blagoevgrad party committees arrived.

On behalf of the All-National Committee for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, greetings were presented by Comrade Tsola Dragoycheva, honorary chairman of the committee, and by Nacho Papazov, chairman of the committee.

Representatives of the Bulgarian People's Army headed by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, also presented their greetings. Delegates from the trade union; Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the trade union Central Council; and delegates from the fatherland Front National Council, the Sofia okrug party committee, the Ministry of the Interior, as well as delegates from creative artists union and from the Sofia rayons also presented their greetings.

The greetings were accepted by Nikita Tolubeyev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR in Bulgaria.

YUGOSLAV ARMY DAY MARKED IN SOFIA 22 DECEMBER

AU231350 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Dec 81 p 6

[Text] Yugoslav Army Day -- 22 December -- was celebrated in Sofia yesterday. This is the anniversary of the first proletarian brigade which was established in Yugoslavia 40 years ago laying the basis for the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav People's Army was born and strengthened in the years of the struggle for national and social liberation, and the militant development of this army is covered with great deeds and heroic exploits, Lt Gen Petko Dudov, stressed in his address.

A speech was also delivered by (Dimitrie Vuicic), military, naval and air force attache of Yugoslavia to our country.

The celebration was attended by Lt Gen Kiril Kosev, head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, deputy ministers of defense, generals and officers of the army, Danilo Puric, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY in our country, as well as military attaches from socialist countries.

LILOV RECEIVES VISITING ROMANIAN OFFICIAL

AU172046 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Comrade Aleksandur Lilov received Tamara Dobrin, executive chairman of the Romanian Socialist Democracy and Unity Front National Council on 17 December.

NEW DOCUMENTS ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH FRANCE

AU231123 Sofia BTA in English 0832 GMT 23 Dec 81

[BTA correspondent V. Mitev's report]

[Text] Paris, 23 Dec (BTA) -- The ministers of foreign trade of Bulgaria and France, Mr Khristo Krhistov and Mr Michel Jobert, signed last night two important documents on behalf of their governments which will render a fresh impetus to the promotion of the economic, industrial and technological cooperation between the two countries.

The first document outlines the basic trends of this cooperation in the 1981-1990 period. It points out that the two governments will persist in their efforts to deepen cooperation and trade exchange. They will strive to ensure conditions for a better mutual knowledge of the two economies and especially of their development plans. It also stresses that the contacts between French firms and Bulgarian organizations will be encouraged and that they will be let to decide themselves within the framework of their agreements what form of cooperation they are to chose.

Underlined is the special role which the Intergovernmental Committee for Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation (established with the agreement of July 19, 1968), the French Foreign Trade Centre and the National Council of the Association of the French Industrialists, on the one hand, and the Bulgarian Chamber of Trade and Industry and the Bulgarian Industrial-Economic Association, on the other, can play for the achievements of these goals.

Deepening of bilateral cooperation will be directed, above all to the following spheres: industry, agriculture, the food industry, tourism and transport.

The second document is a five-year agreement on economic cooperation between the governments of the two countries. It is emphasized in this document that the lasting and long-term cooperation will be encouraged through increasing and diversifying trade exchange in all branches, through carrying through projects of bilateral interest in industry, transport, tourism, communications and construction, through carrying out joint ventures in third countries, through cooperation between the small and medium-size French enterprises and the Bulgarian cooperative and foreign trade economic organizations.

The Bulgaro-French Committee for Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation held its 10th jubilee session. The delegations of the two countries were headed by the ministers of foreign trade of Bulgaria and France, Mr Khristo Khristov and Mr Michel Jobert. There have been put on the agenda of the session questions pertaining to furthering Bulgaro-French cooperation in the various economic spheres, to using more fully the new forms of joint work and the prospects opened up by the coming period for the business circles of Bulgaria and France.

Last night Minister Khristo Khristov and Minister Michel Jobert signed a protocol on the session. In their statements before the journalists present at the session they underlined their satisfaction with the work done and stressed the importance of the freshly signed "basic guidelines for the development of cooperation in the 1981-1990 period" and the new five-year agreement for the expansion of the mutually advantageous relations.

Minister Khristo Khristov had meetings with the state minister of transportation, Mr Charles Fiterman, with the minister of research and technology, Mr Jean-Pierre Chevenement, and the minister of industry, Mr Pierre Dreyfus.

BILAK ADDRESSES BRATISLAVA AKTIV 21 DEC

AU241615 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Dec 81 p 2

["From" the speech by Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivered at a party aktiv held in Bratislava on 21 December: "We Defend the Interests of Peace and Progress" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] We are at the end of a year which was rich in political events, but -- regarding the world in particular -- was marked by more moments of crisis than by signs of political and economic stability.

The most important events of the year in the sphere of domestic policy were the 16th CPCZ Congress and the elections to the representative bodies. The line of the 16th CPCZ Congress has been generally accepted -- all agencies of the federal and national governments, the economic sphere agencies and the National Front organizations will confirm that they have elaborated the line of the congress. However, its fulfillment signals that these tasks are not always being taken seriously everywhere.

True, one could enumerate many positive examples which confirm the correctness of the basic political-economic strategy, oriented toward the growth of our economy's effectiveness. The most important thing is that even in the complicated conditions of the present-day world we have nevertheless made progress, although only a bit. THE NATIONAL ECONOMY IS NOT STAGNATING IN ITS DEVELOPMENT AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING HAS NOT BEEN REDUCED. In the present-day world this is undoubtedly a success, but we also must take a glance at the other side of the coin. Compared with the plan, the slower pace of the growth of production and of the national income is evidence that we still have not succeeded in achieving the decisive turn in the growth of the effectiveness and quality of the social product, that the results which are being accomplished do not correspond to our needs or to our possibilities. Our fulfillment of tasks regarding raising the quality and technical standards of production, applying the results of scientific-technical development and increasing thriftiness in the consumption of energy, raw and other materials has been unsatisfactory.

There is no doubt that quite a number of objective reasons could be found everywhere which make the fulfillment of the set tasks difficult and at times even impossible. However, nothing can obscure the fact that our greatest weakness is, above all, the standard of direct management, the inadequate demands for discipline and order. Much routine, formalism and paper-shuffling [administrovanie] continues to prevail in the control and decisionmaking processes in central agencies, in the economic production units and enterprises.

THE PARTY BODIES AND ORGANIZATIONS MUST BE AT THE HEAD OF THE STRUGGLE FOR ACHIEVING A HIGH DEGREE OF EFFECTIVENESS AND QUALITY OF PRODUCTION. ON THE BASIS OF AN EXACTING ASSESSMENT OF THE RESULTS THAT ARE BEING ACHIEVED, THEY MUST MOBILIZE THEIR MEMBERS AND ALL WORKING PEOPLE FOR A RESPONSIBLE APPROACH TO WORK. This means that the great performance and the contribution of leading workers and technicians must be assessed justly and their wisdom, valuable -- often lifelong -- experience, and ideas must be comprehensively utilized. No initiative aimed at achieving better results must remain without response, without practical application.

According to the 1982 plan, the planned pace of development is slower than this year, but it would be a mistake to think that the slow pace permits taking a temporary breather, that we can take it easier as to our work efforts. Precisely the contrary is true; after all, we must implement the strategic line of the 16th congress, oriented toward achieving great effectiveness and quality of production with an equal -- and in some cases with even a smaller -- quantity of energy and raw and other material resources than in preceding years. How well we master these tasks will also determine the fulfillment of the plan in the sphere of the standard of living.

An important instrument for resolving and fulfilling the tasks of our further economic development is the deepening of the socialist integration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. At their meeting this year in the Crimea, Comrades Leonid Brezhnev and Gustav Husak emphasized that TODAY PRODUCTION COOPERATION AND SPECIALIZATION ARE BECOMING THE MAIN YARDSTICK OF THE QUALITY OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS, AND NOTED THAT BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAVE BETTER PREREQUISITES FOR THEIR UTILIZATION, THAT THE POSSIBILITIES ARE DEFINITELY GREATER THAN THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN UTILIZED THUS FAR.

It is not the International Monetary Fund or reliance on the assistance of the capitalist countries, but strengthening the action unity of the countries of the socialist community and perfecting the coordination of activity among all sectors of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact that are the most important prerequisites for a successful solution of problems which the present-day world is confronting us with.

The successes we achieved in the past decade in implementing the policy of detente are irrefutable evidence of our potential. True, even then that policy was the subject of a sharp class struggle; it was fought out, in the first place, thanks to the offensive drive of the socialist countries, of the progressive and democratic forces of the world against the forces of reaction and militarism.

For the socialist countries detente is neither a tactic nor scheming, but an important manifestation of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, the only sensible alternative in a class-divided world. The policy of detente has been forced upon imperialism by the growth of the strength of the forces of socialism and the actions of the broad masses, tired of the cold war.

Current developments show that the general course of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems is at direct variance with the aggressive essence of imperialism, which has concentrated its attack on the very foundations of the policy of detente with the objective of liquidating it. This is nothing new; it is just another attempt at reversing the situation to the advantage of reactionary forces.

The basic motive for imperialism making its line sharper is not the growth of its strength and potential, but -- on the contrary -- the continuation and the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the further acceleration of the processes of the revolutionary transformation of the world.

We have no right to understimate the degree and extent of the international complications provoked by imperialism. The communists of the countries of the socialist community have never experienced an easy life; they have known times worse than the present. Therefore, there is no need to dramatize the situation; however, we must maintain vigilance and class solidarity!

The aggravation of international relations last year and also this year elicits at times a sort of surprise among our people. This fact only shows the weak spots in our mass-political work. As long as there is imperialism there will be conflicts and tensions. At times they will be greater, at other times lesser, but they will exist. Only the strength and superiority of socialism can prevent war.

With imperialists, the aggravation of the international situation goes hand in hand with the endeavor to confuse the world public with a broadly based disinformation campaign. Its objective is detracting attention from its own aggressive and antipeace plans and shifting the blame for the aggravated situation in the world on the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The campaign about the so-called Soviet military threat is a disguise for the aggressiveness of imperialism and is meant to weaken the opposition of the Western public to the large military expenditures and hazard.

Exposing the real intentions and lies of these campaigns, and explaining the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union must become a part of our everyday ideological work.

One must say a few words about Poland. The anticommunist forces hold it against us that "Prague received with relief and joy the imposition of the state of emergency in Poland." We would prefer that this did not have to happen. Unfortunately, the situation had reached such a stage that the Polish leadership had no other choice. We have never hidden the fact that we would support progressive and patriotic forces defending socialism and fighting against counterrevolution.

At the 16th congress, our party assessed and took a stance on the crisis in the Polish People's Republic, on its class substance. We stressed that antisocialist forces, supported and incited by enemies from abroad, were striving for a counterrevolutionary coup, and as for international imperialism that this was a part of their overall strategy aimed at weakening the unity of the socialist community and at wresting some country out of the bonds of the socialist family. AT THE SAME TIME WE ASSURED THE COMMUNISTS, THE WORKERS CLASS AND ALL TRUE PROPONENTS OF SOCIALISM IN POLAND OF OUR SUPPORT FOR THEIR EFFORTS TO BEAT OFF THE ATTACK OF REACTION, RESOLVE ACCUMULATED PROBLEMS AND STRENGTHEN THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL SYSTEM. WE ARE CONSISTENTLY IMPLEMENTING THIS PRINCIPLED STANCE IN OUR PRACTICAL POLICY.

This is why we support the conclusions of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which elected Wojciech Jaruzelski to the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and which expressed the determination to put an end to the policy of concessions and to take decisive measures against counterrevolution. We also showed understanding for the efforts of the leadership to win the broadest possible support in the ranks of the Polish working people for the set realistic platform for a way out of the crisis. The practical development in the past period fully exposed the irreconcilability of the two basic contradictory intentions: While the party and state leadership was searching incessantly for ways to resolve the crisis situation and ward off national catastrophe, the "Solidarity" leadership rejected the solution of the crisis by political means and immediately began preparing a counterrevolutionary coup. In that situation the State Council of the Polish People's Republic imposed the state of emergency on the state's territory with the objective of creating conditions which would lead the country out of the crisis situation, of safeguarding legality and of restoring social order.

It is known that some circles in the West received this measure with unconcealed indignation, disapproval and accusation that "constitutional freedoms" have allegedly been "violated." What sort of freedoms are they? The right to poison wells? Everybody was hollering that the Poles themselves must resolve the crisis. And when they started resolving it, they began hollering again. Choosing the method is the right of the Polish government. Every thinking person knows that when a diagnosis shows that surgery is necessary to save a life, the rest is up to the surgeon.

Various critics are proceeding simultaneously from positions of some sort of self-appointed arbiters who usurp the right to determine how the government of the sovereign Polish People's Republic is or is not to proceed, what measures it might or might not apply when exercising its authority. A telling example is the extraordinary session of the NATO council, convened to assess the situation in Poland. This session favored unfolding a broad resistance movement in Western Europe against the course of the Polish Government. It even made the position of the NATO member states toward the Geneva and Madrid talks contingent upon the further development of events in the Polish People's Republic. We regard such practices in international relations, which are at steep variance with the final act of the Helsinki conference, to be impermissible and we condemn them most resolutely.

It is pure irony that the attempts to cast doubt on the measures undertaken by the legitimate Government of the Polish People's Republic to protect the legal order of a sovereign state, stem from the very imperialist circles which had aided in installing Pinochet's junta in Chile through an anticonstitutional bloody coup d'etat; circles which are openly striving to overthrow the legitimate government of Nicaragua; which do not hesitate to suppress the progressive forces inside their own countries in the interests of preserving the power of capital, doing so with brutal rughlessness; and which are implementing without hesitation gunboat policy against national liberation movements. This is yet more proof of the phariseeism, of the class egotism of the policy pursued by international imperialism, proof of its contempt for the basic norms of international law.

In reality, the pretended concern for the Polish nation's fate covers up an obvious anger at the fact that in this instance imperialism's intentions have met with resistance. Or do they really believe that their political regime has the right to defend itself, while the socialist regime has no such right? Our method is to convince, to win people over to the policy of the party; but we have learned that we cannot convince the enemies of socialism. The Government of the Polish People's Republic has come to realize this, too. Which capitalist state would have had such patience as the Polish leadership has shown? Why do the imperialists think that we must play only the one tune? When the communists are being fired at, this is regarded as the protection of order; but if one steps on a counterrevolutionary's corn, there is a shout about the violation of freedom. Despite the verbal assurances that the West is not interfering in Polish affairs, in practice this last year and a half the West has been constantly delivering supplies to, intervening in, and materially supporting the "Solidarity" leaders and other antisocialist figures in Poland. Now, as the saying goes, "their uneasy conscience has betrayed itself."

THE CZECHOSLOVAK WORKING PEOPLE AND COMMUNISTS WELCOME AND AGREE WITH THE POLISH LEADERSHIP'S RESOLUTE MEASURES AGAINST THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FORCES, MEASURES ADOPTED LITERALLY AT THE TWELFTH HOUR. THIS STEP SAVED THE FOUNDATIONS ON WHICH ONE CAN BUILD FURTHER. At the same time we realize that it will take some time to succeed in fully rectifying, in all spheres of the Polish People's Republic's social life, the damages caused by the counterrevolution.

IN ITS FURTHER EFFORTS FOR STABILITY AND CALM IN THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, FOR RELIABLY ENSURING THE GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC ON THE PATH OF SOCIALISM AND PEACE, THE POLISH LEADERSHIP HAS THE ALL-ROUND SUPPORT OF THE CPCZ AND THE WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR FATHERLAND.

The hostile propaganda is striving, time and again, to discredit, through the Polish crisis, not only socialism in the Polish People's Republic but also socialism in general. It is spreading the concept of the inevitability of crises and conflicts in the socialist countries which, they say, follow from the very substance of socialism -- or at least from the "Soviet model." This propaganda is penetrating even the statements of certain so-called Eurocommunist figures; and doubts are even cast on the historic significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This is either naivete and ignorance of the natural laws governing the class struggle, or conscious opportunism. The critical developments in the Polish People's Republic are not at all connected with implementation of the "Soviet model" by the former Polish leadership, as hostile propaganda claims. On the contrary, it was the concessions and nonadherence to the Leninist principles of socialist construction that had proved themselves in practice which have led to the crisis and the dangerous onslaught of counterrevolution.

IT IS EXACTLY THE EXAMPLE OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC THAT FULLY CONFIRMS THE DANGER WHICH FOLLOWS FROM THE FACT THAT THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY:

-- DID NOT ADHERE STRICTLY TO THE LENINIST NORMS OF PARTY LIFE;

-- FAILED TO SEE TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE TIES WITH THE MASSES AND TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY;

-- DID NOT CARRY OUT A REALISTIC ECONOMIC POLICY AND TOLERATED DEBTS TO THE CAPITALIST STATES;

-- DID NOT RAISE THE WORKING PEOPLE IN THE SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONALISM;

-- DID NOT MANIFEST REVOLUTIONARY VIGILANCE; AND

-- DID NOT WARD OFF, RESOLUTELY AND IN TIME, THE ANTISOCIALIST FORCES.

We must not only know how to defend ourselves, we must also know how to carry out an onslaught, how to courageously unmask the reactionary substance of imperialism and how to lead an ideological offensive against it, and to lead it from positions that are advantageous to us, because, in fact, the policy of imperialism is more than vulnerable. And we are defending a just cause. We are defending the working people's vital interests, the interests of peace and social progress.

In conclusion, I want to say only the following: There are enough problems and difficulties; but, under the CPCZ's leadership, our people are resolved to overcome them -- and we will master them. OUR CERTAINTY LIES ABOVE ALL IN THE FACT THAT WE ARE NOT ALONE, THAT WE HAVE A LOYAL FRIEND AND ALLY -- THE POWERFUL SOVIET UNION. WE ARE A FIRM COMPONENT OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. WE HAVE A FIRM, IDEOLOGICALLY STRONG PARTY. It is necessary to overcome all easy-going attitudes, to enhance exacting demands, and to deepen the conviction and certainty that our path is the correct one. It is a path leading to truth, justice, happiness and peace.

LENART ADDRESSES CPSL REGIONAL COMMITTEE

AU231511 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Dec 81 p 1

[CTK report: "To Raise Efficiency and Quality; The Central Slovak Regional Committee of the Slovak Communist Party [CPSL] Convened" -- capitalized passage published in boldface]

[Excerpts] Banska Bystrica (CTK) -- Yesterday's session of the CPSL's Central Slovak Regional Committee in Banska Bystrica evaluated the fulfillment of this year's plan and assessed the state of preparations for the 1982 plan. The deliberations were attended by J. Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

The discussion, which pointed out above all the possibilities of a more effective use of resources and internal reserves in enterprises, but also the irreplaceable role of the working people's initiative, was addressed by Comrade J. Lenart.

He apparised the results achieved by the working people of the region in fulfilling this year's tasks. In connection with the implementation of the party's economic policy, he stressed that the current period belongs among the most complicated ones in the advance of our national economy to date. ENSURING THE TASKS OF THE SEVENTH 5-YEAR PLAN THEREFORE REQUIRES THE WORKING PEOPLE'S ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE FULFILLMENT OF THESE TARGETS. HOWEVER, STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE REPRODUCTION PROCESS IN THE DIRECTION OF REDUCING THE CONSUMPTION OF MATERIALS AND ENERGY ARE ALSO IMPERATIVE; AT THE SAME TIME RAW MATERIALS AND FUELS MUST BE VALORIZED FAR MORE RAPIDLY, AND IN ALL PLACES. He recalled the significance of perfecting the management of economic processes by utilizing the knowledge of science and technology, as well as the significance of orienting ourselves toward raising the effectiveness and quality of all work. He also devoted attention to the tasks of agricultural production, to land protection and to raising self-sufficiency in foodstuffs. He stressed that the current economic development requires us to develop and consolidate yet more intensively our cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries.

EVENTS IN POLAND VIEWED, AID CONTINUES

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Summarized

AU281209 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 24 Dec 81 on pages 1,2 carries a 500-word ADN/ND report on the GDR's various solidarity aid activities for Poland. The report refers to two convoys of trucks leaving Dresden for Wroclaw and Jelenia Gora, to the departure of two Polish transport ships from Stralsund and to various donations to the special bank account 555.

The same paper on page 2 carries two 150-word reports: an ADN report on the Polish radio's paying tribute to the GDR solidarity aid and a report by Horst Ifflaender on the arrival of a GDR solidarity consignment at a Polish children's home.

Concerning the events in Poland the paper carries on page 1 a 200-word ADN report on a Warsaw radio report stating that Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and prime minister, met with about 70 representatives of scientific life on Wednesday and appealed to them to "play an active role in rescuing the fatherland and in strengthening the state."

The same paper on page 5 carries a 400-word ADN report referring to a meeting of directors of numerous enterprises in the government Presidium in Warsaw, where an increase of labor productivity was noted. The article also refers to a TRYBUNA LUDU report that production is increasing in the mining sector with every day. The article continues by stating that, according to Warsaw radio, a "group of counterrevolutionaries" is preventing miners from working in the "Ziemowit" and "Piast" mines and summary proceedings have been instituted at military courts against people "who tried to sabotage the measures of the Military Council of National Salvation."

The article is followed by a 60-word ADN report stating that order has been restored in the Katowice steel plant and a 40-word ADN report stating that the curfew has been lifted for the night from 24 to 25 December throughout the country.

On the same page the paper carries three ADN reports on reactions approving of the measures in Poland: a 60-word report on the declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece; an 80-word report on the statement of the National Council of the Communist Party of India at its meeting on Wednesday; a 60-word report on a commentary of Zimbabwe television.

Convoy Activity 28 Dec

LD281434 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1302 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 28 Dec (ADN) -- A convoy of 18 trucks carrying solidarity goods from the Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk left for neighboring Gorzow Voivodship today. The consignment, comprising foodstuffs and household detergents will arrive this afternoon in various towns and parishes of the Gorzow sister region. Long-distance trucks are at present being loaded in various districts of Dresden Bezirk with outer garments and other textiles, foodstuffs as well as household detergents. The vehicles will be arriving in the Wroclaw and Jelenia-Gora voivodships Tuesday. A convoy of trucks with solidarity goods has left Schwerin for the Polish sister town of Pila.

Citizens and teams from all the GDR bezirke continue to affirm their strong solidarity with People's Poland through donations. The trade union members of Suhl Bezirk have so far donated M225,000. A total of M77,000 was paid into the special account for People's Poland by the workers of the Leuna chemical combine (Halle Bezirk). The solidarity donation by the bezirk organizations of the Democratic Women's League stands at M233,000 at present.

Milk Consignment Leaves

LD282134 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] The fourth consignment of milk since the start of the aid action for the people of Poland today left Cottbus for Poland.

A new convoy of trucks from Frankfurt-Oder Bezirk also set off for Poland today carrying solidarity goods. Other long-distance trucks from Dresden Bezirk are leaving tomorrow for the voivodships of Wroclaw and Jelenia Gora.

PRESS RELEASE ON ECONOMIC TALKS WITH USSR

AU181250 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Dec 81 p 6

[ADN report: "Closer Cooperation With USSR in Research, Technology and Production: Press Release on 29th Session of the GDR-USSR Bilateral Government Commission"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- The 29th session of the bilateral government commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR took place in Berlin in the time from 7-10 December 1981. The delegations were led by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and by Leonid Arkadevich Kostandov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received L. Kostandov on 7 December 1981 for friendly talks.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, held deliberations with the chairmen of both parts of the commission and with ministers and leading GDR and USSR economic functionaries on 10 December 1981.

Proceeding from the agreement concluded between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the Crimea this August, the commission adopted specific tasks related to the further deepening of cooperation in science, technology and production, aimed at the further interlacing of the national economies of the GDR and the USSR as well as at strengthening the community of states united in CEMA.

These measures serve the implementation of the program for specialization and cooperation of the production between the GDR and the USSR until 1990 as well as of the main trends of cooperation in the national economic sectors agreed upon on the basis of this program. They involve an acceleration of scientific-technical progress, stepping up labor productivity, intensifying production, enhancing the quality of social labor as well as ensuring an effective economical use of raw materials and other materials.

Concluding a government agreement on cooperation in the field of robot technology in implementation of the tasks set forth at the 10th SED Congress as well as the 26th CPSU Congress was a main item at the session of the commission.

The main concern of this agreement is ensuring the high targets in the two countries by combining the scientific-technical forces, the utilization of available experiences and concerted cooperation in research and in production.

Another effective contribution to accelerating that technology which is decisive for scientific-technical progress is being made with the agreement on cooperation concerning a series of microelectronics products which was signed at the session of the commission.

The agreement at the same time contains concrete provisions for the mutual delivery of special technological equipment and of building elements for various fields of application.

Cooperation between the Bernburg and Lipetsk cement works is the subject of another agreement completed at the session of the bilateral commission. It involves tasks related to boosting the output in existing enterprises and to the rational use of raw materials and energy, including the use of low calorie fuels and an improvement of environmental protection.

The commission made provisions for continuing research and production cooperation in setting up a large-scale experimental plant for the continuous cold rolling of steel pipe at the Risa pipe combine, a plant which constitutes the outcome of fruitful cooperation between institutes and enterprises of the two countries in the field of modern refining metallurgy.

In order to expand the existing joint work in the field of waste water purification in large cities and industrial plants a government agreement was signed at the session which envisages the development and use of new processes for the purification and industrial use of water and is highly important for the apartment building program and for water supplies to industry.

Other decisions of the commission involve the concentration of capacities in the building of printing machinery in the GDR and the USSR on developing and manufacturing highly productive offset printing machines, the defining of joint main trends for cooperation in the mineral fertilizer, plant protection and pesticide industries as well as questions of increasing efficiency in animal husbandry facilities.

The commission devoted great attention to cooperation in the sphere of consumer goods production. It dealt with extensive proposals of the ministries for the deepening of existing relations and the establishment of new relations of technical and technological cooperation in rationalizing and modernizing production, in cooperation and the division of labor as well as with proposals for organizing an exchange of experiences between combines, associations and enterprises of the two countries. In doing so a contribution is being made to further improving supplies of high-quality consumer goods to the population of the two countries.

On the basis of the positive results of the cooperative production of light footwear at the "Floare" production association in the Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic a protocol was signed at the session which envisage the expansion of the jointly created facilities.

An agreement on intensifying the production of hosiery at the Thalheim Esda combine, the Riga Aurora combine and the "50th Anniversary of Founding the USSR" combine in Brest serves the purpose of working out joint technical and technological and labor-organizational measures with the purpose of enhancing production efficiency and product quality.

The intensification of furniture production is being carried out in a direct technical production cooperation between a number of GDR and USSR combines on the basis of a ministers' agreement approved by the commission. The purpose of this cooperation consists in jointly working out and introducing effective production techniques, in cutting the consumption of material and power, in enhancing the share of final products with the "Q" quality mark and in preparing the mutual delivery of modern wood-processing machinery.

The proven cooperation between the Schwarzenberg VEB [state enterprise] laundry appliances works and the Kishinev washing machine combine is being continued with the conclusion of a ministers' agreement. The chairmen of the bilateral government commission dealt with long-range problems of securing and economically fashioning the foreign trade transports, the building of railway vehicles as well as with other complexes of scientific-technical and economic cooperation. In the course of the 29th session of the bilateral government commission deliberations took place to verify the state of earlier concluded agreements on research and production cooperation.

Gerhard Schuerer and Leonid Kostandov and commission members, together with scientists, engineers and technicians from both countries discussed at the Schwarze Pumpe gas combine the course of joint work in the field of coal refinement and defined measures to accelerate this work.

The chairman of both sides as well as other responsible economic functionaries of the GDR and the USSR deliberated on topical problems related to the fashioning of mutual relations in important fields of electrical engineering, processing machinery building, ship building and consumer goods production on the spot at enterprises in the GDR capital of Berlin, in Schwerin, Wismar and in Malchow.

Ministers and commission members as wellas experts of the two countries held further deliberations in the Carl Zeiss combine in Jena; in the Berlin VEB Elektroprojekt and Anlagenbau works; the Gera VEB electronic works; the Riesa pipe combine; the Rostock VER diesel motor works; the Schwedt petrochemical combine; the Buna chemical works combine; the Schwarzheide synthese works combine; the Leipzig-Grimma chemical plant building combine; the Bernburg VEB cement works; the Dresden-Hellerau furniture combine; the Oelsa-Rabenau upholstered furniture combine; the Biesenthal VEB furniture foil enterprise; the Mittweida VEB underwear union works, the Weissenfels VEB footwear factory; the Institutes for Physical Chemistry and Cybernatics of the Academy of Sciences; and in others.

Participating in the deliberations of the 29th session of the commission were:

On the GDR side: Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of science and technology, deputy chairman of the GDR side of the commission; Karl Gruenheid, state secretary with the State Planning Commission, deputy chairman of the GDR side of the commission; Egon Winkelmann, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR; Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of environmental protection and water conservancy; Heinz Klopfer, member of the Council of Ministers, state secretary with the State Planning Commission; Otto Arndt, minister of transport; Werner Buschmann, minister of light industry; Rudi Georgi, minister of machine tool and processing machinery building; Wolfgang Junker, minister of the construction industry; Rolf Kersten, minister of heavy machine construction and installation construction; Heinz Kuhrig, minister of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry; Wolfgang Mitzinger, minister of coal and power; Kurt Singhuber, minister of ore mining, metallurgy and potash; Horst Soelle, minister of foreign trade; Otfried Steger, minister of electrical engineering and electronics; Udo-Dieter Wange, minister of bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry; Guenther Wyschofsky, minister of chemical industry; Guenther Ehrensberger, SED Central Committee department head; Horst Tschanter, head of the CEMA work group of the SED Central Committee; Erich Reim, state secretary in the Ministry of General Machinery, Agricultural Machinery and Vehicle Construction; Klaus Stubenrauch, state secretary in the Ministry of Science and Technology; Rudi Heninze, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; Karl-Heinz Richter, head of the USSR section of the State Planning Commission, responsible secretary of the GDR side of the commission; Guenther Fritsching, head of the standing representation of the GDR side of the commission in Moscow; Richard Mueller, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission.

On the USSR side: K.M. Dyumayev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, deputy chairman of the Soviet side of the commission; P.A. Abrasimov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR; Y.P. Ryabov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Commission; V.V. Listov, minister of the chemical industry; I.I. Pudkov, minister of machine building for light and food industry and household appliances; A.G. Petrishchev, minister of mineral fertilizer production; V.G. Kolesnikov, first deputy minister of electronics industry; L.I. Zorin, first deputy foreign trade minister; I.P. Bystryukov, deputy minister of agriculture; V.M. Venslavskiy, USSR deputy minister of timber, pulp and paper and wood processing industry; I.A. Ganichev deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for construction affairs; I.G. Grisenko, deputy minister of light industry; A.V. Kardapoltsev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture; K.V. Kulyayev, deputy minister of transport; L.P. Nedyak, deputy minister of maritime fleet; L.U. Popov, deputy minister of heavy and transport machine building; V.Y. Sidorov, USSR deputy minister of construction materials industry; V.G. Kutyrkin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic;

V.S. Zaytsev, head of the secretariat of the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Y.S. Medvedkov, responsible secretary of the Soviet side of the commission; N.A. Baturin, head of the standing representation of the Soviet side of the commission in Berlin.

Additional deputy ministers and experts of both sides also participated in the deliberations.

'ARAFAT SENDS TELEGRAM OF THANKS TO HONECKER

AU241403 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Dec 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO and supreme commander of the Palestine revolutionary armed forces, has sent the following telegram to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman:

I and my brother members of the PLO Executive Committee have received with pride and respect your telegram, which extended to us the deepest and most militant feelings which support the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO, the only legitimate representative of our people for the implementation of their legitimate inalienable rights, including their right to return, to self-determination and to found their independent national state on Palestinian soil.

In your highly respected person I welcome your avant-gardist party as well as your friendly people and the permanent efforts for strengthening and supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people.

Here I want to assure you that the Palestinian revolution is a revolution of all peace-loving people of the world who are in solidarity with each other against American imperialism, racist Zionism and their accomplices for the implementation of the victory of all struggling people to build a world of freedom, independence and progress.

Your constant, unselfish solidaristic support for the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine and their revolution on the occasion of the international day of solidarity with our people takes place in an extraordinarily dangerous situation in which American imperialism and its spearhead of racist Zionism are directing their attacks against the masses of our people within Palestine so that they can implement the autonomy conspiracies, doing this when their aggressive attacks against the Lebanese and the Palestinian people as well as against our fighters and revolutionaries are constantly increasing.

But the support of all peace-loving people in the world for our people as well as the steadfastness of our fighters and population serve the objective of destroying all American colonial plans as well as the racialist Zionism -- which will by all means suffer defeat -- and of implementing the victory for Palestine and for the cause of all peoples struggling for a rising morning for all of mankind.

Finally, I want to reaffirm my deepest, most militant greetings to your highly respected person, combined with the best wishes, health and well-being and for your avant-gardist party and the friendly people, and for the blossoming of progress.

U.S. ROLE AS 'WORLD POLITICAL MORALIST' SCORED

LD281126 Budapest MTI in English 1024 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 28 Dec (MIT) -- "Once again, justice was delivered in Washington. This time Reagan took the role of world political moralist. As an unwanted advocate and in the disguise of popular rights champion, he has (?interfered in) Poland's internal affairs overtly and unrestrained," says the commentator of Monday's NEPSZAVA, pointing out: "He has told the Polish Government what it may and what it must not do. He has effected sanctions against Poland and threatened the Soviet Union with retaliatory measures for the event the Polish situation does not develop according to the U.S. demands.

"In justification of all this, he brought up the declaration of the state of emergency and the alleged restriction of human rights. The only trouble is," says the commentator, "what Washington is not always as fastidious as that. With the bloody tyranny of Chile, for instance, the Reagan administration is cherishing the most cordial links. Yet Chile has been practically in a state of emergency for eight years. Or let us take South Korea where the state of emergency was prolonged for one more year not long ago. There is not the faintest trace of liberty rights there. The military dictatorship strikes on every counter-opinion with an iron fist, with tangible (?assistance from) the United States. And what about South Africa? The Reagan administration is on the best possible terms with the apartheid regime.

"The immaculate robe of the non-appealable moralist," runs the comment, "is of course put on in Washington only when a socialist state takes resort to the means of just self-defence in the face of a counterrevolutionary danger. Let alone that there was no military coup and there is no military dictatorship in Poland, and the state of emergency shall be maintained not a moment longer than the situation demands.

"The expedient and energetic measures of the Polish people's power have touched a sensitive nerve of those whose Poland-related schemes and dreams, which already seemed close to realization, have been shattered all at once. This is the great [word indistinct], the reprisals and the threats for, at the same time, the birdlime was also dangled: The President has promised 'another Marshall-aid' to Poland provided the firm action against counterrevolutionaries ceases.

"To (?Hungarians) all this is strikingly familiar. During the counterrevolution here, they first promised, then blackmailed, threatened and sanctioned in much the same way. The methods have not changed in a quarter century. Nor will the outcome," concludes NEPSZAVA.

BUDAPEST PARTY COMMITTEE HOLDS SESSION 21 DEC

LD212156 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 21 Dec (MTI) -- The Budapest party committee held an extended session in Budapest on Monday. The body approved an analysis submitted by Laszlo Marothy, member of the MSZMP Political Committee and first secretary of the Budapest party committee, of the political, social and economic situation of the capital and an outline of the 1982 tasks. It also approved the agendas of the work programs and meetings of 1982. The meeting was addressed also by Ferenc Havasi, member of the MSZMP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WINTER SESSION HELD 17-18 DEC

Leaders Attend Session

LD181142 Budapest MTI in English 1044 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 18 Dec (MTI) -- The winter session of Hungarian parliament continued at 1000 a.m. on Friday.

Present were: Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other members of the HSWP Political Committee. In attendance were also the secretaries of the Central Committee and members of the government, as well as several leaders of foreign diplomatic representations in Hungary. In compliance with the approved agenda, parliament heard and discussed a report on the foreign political activity of the government. The report was read by Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja.

Puja's Foreign Policy Address

AU240700 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Report on speech by Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, at the 18 December session of the Hungarian National Assembly: "Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja: Our Goal Is To Preserve Peace"]

[Text] I am fulfilling an honorable duty when, faithful to our constitutional practice, I render an account on the foreign political activity of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and its position on the most important aspects of international life. Our party's 12th congress and, subsequently, also the government program adopted in September last year paid particular attention to our international tasks. That is understandable, since progress in our work of socialist construction is closely connected with the development of the international political and economic situation. It has been said, with great emphasis, on several occasions also here at the parliament that our country has become very sensitive to international developments. Because of the halt in the detente process, intensification of tension and an even more unfavorable development of the world economic processes than expected, we have to tackle the tasks facing us amid even more difficult external conditions than before.

The aggravation of the international situation is a direct consequence of measures implemented by U.S. leaders since 1977-78. Their most important goal is -- and they make no secret of it -- to obtain military superiority vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community, in order to be able to return, on their basis, to a policy of strength. As early as 1978, the NATO countries decided, at their Washington summit meeting, to increase military budgets by 3 percent annually. And the NATO ministerial council decided in Brussels 2 years ago to deploy U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles in five West European countries.

The U.S. Republican Party administration that took office this January has adopted this policy; indeed, by a few of its own measures, has further aggravated the situation. Under an unprecedentedly high military budget endorsed by the U.S. Senate, they have accelerated the large-scale development of the various branches of the armed forces and are intensively continuing the organization of a Rapid Deployment Force. They have begun the production of the neutron weapon. With reference to an alleged Soviet military superiority, a "Soviet threat," some U.S. leaders are discussing the possibility of a limited nuclear war and speaking of a nuclear warning strike.

It makes one ponder that now also Europe, the continent that is the most important area from the viewpoint of war and peace and where relative tranquillity reigned in the seventies, is threatened by a considerable intensification of tension. If the military balance of power were upset in Europe, irreparable harm would be inflicted not only on European peace and security, but also on peace and security in the entire world. It is no accident that sober-minded Western leaders also realize the danger threatening their countries as well. It is understandable that vast masses are demonstrating in West Europe against the U.S. rearmament and missile deployment plans.

Some events in recent weeks -- statements that appear to be more moderate by U.S. leaders, the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear weapons in Europe that have begun in Geneva and other manifestations -- are giving rise to certain hopes in people concerned about peace. However, it would be wrong to entertain illusions: On basic issues, there are no significant changes in U.S. and NATO policy.

The aggravated international situation is rightly eliciting concern throughout the world and rightly worries our country's public opinion as well. It does not need to be particularly explained why, in this situation, the significance of the struggle to preserve the previous results of detente, reduce the danger of war and curb the arms race has increased.

Thanks to factors of detente also making their effects felt today, the Hungarian People's Republic, our party and government, is continuing its active and extensive international activity, the development of relations with the capitalist countries and its participation, within the framework of multilateral cooperation, in resolving acute international problems also amid the worsened international circumstances. Keeping all that in mind, we will have to exploit our potential in accomplishing the tasks facing us, realizing our common socialist endeavors and ensuring our particular national interests even more in the future.

The world political and world economic developments of past years have convincingly proved: From the viewpoint of our peace and security and economic development, particular significance is attached to fostering our fraternal friendship and constantly developing our multifaceted cooperation with the socialist countries and primarily the Soviet Union. Strengthening and expanding relations with our allies, within the framework of bilateral relations and the Warsaw Pact and CEMA alike, remains the most important feature of our party's and government's international activity.

Hungarian-Soviet relations encompass every area of political, economic, cultural and scientific life. For practical purposes, there is no area of our work of socialist construction in which our mutually beneficial cooperation does not play a determining role. We can say the same about our international activity and coordinated foreign political conduct. Meetings between Janos Kadar and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and their exchanges of views on the most important tasks facing our parties and countries, which have become traditional, have been outstanding junctures in the development of our relations. These meetings are of determining importance in deepening friendship between the Hungarian and Soviet people and inspire us to strive even more actively to expand relations between the two countries. Our steps to defend peace and consolidate security are playing an extremely great role in the coordination of our actions. A few days ago, Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, premier of the Soviet Union, paid a visit to our country. We are certain that the meeting between the Hungarian and Soviet heads of government and their talks conducted in an atmosphere of close friendship will impart a new impetus to a multifaceted development of cooperation between our countries and the expansion of our relations in every area.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is paying particular attention to developing and fostering its relations with the neighboring socialist countries. I have noted our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union. We are linked through ties of close alliance and fruitfully developing cooperation to the CSSR. We are striving extensively to develop our relations and cooperation with the Socialist Republic of Romania. Our multifaceted cooperation with Socialist Yugoslavia is developing well.

We are convinced that close friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the neighboring socialist countries, who have been living side by side for centuries, constitute an important factor in social development, whether it is a matter of building a new society and promoting economic development, or jointly solving common problems like protecting the environment and developing transportation and communications and maintaining the waterways, or such issues as harmoniously fostering the traditional and cultural heritage arising from a common historical past.

All this can be resolved only through mutual understanding and creative cooperation. That is why we regard it as an important task, a task that builds the future, to strive to develop and constantly strengthen a close friendly relationship in our immediate geographical area.

It has arisen also through historical development that citizens of Hungarian nationality are living in the socialist countries adjacent to us, just as there are also people of other nationalities living in Hungary.

It is our wish that the people of nationality groups should be loyal citizens of their countries, while, at the same time, they should, by virtue of their existence and particular position, fulfill the role of a bridge in friendly cooperation between our peoples and countries.

Our bilateral relations with the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria have considerably expanded and become even more substantive in recent years.

In accordance with the country's Constitution, the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic introduced a state of emergency on 13 December. Under the chairmanship of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, a Military Council of National Salvation has been established, which has instituted various measures. These measures serve to overcome the counterrevolutionary danger, prevent anarchy and chaos, restore law and order, consolidate the internal situation, and ensure continuous productive work, a socialist renewal and the country's social and national ascent. We share the position of the Polish communists and other progressive-minded people: Poland is and will remain a socialist country and, as a firm member of the Warsaw Pact, it will fulfill, in the future, as before, its important role in the socialist community.

Our People Support the True Polish Patriots

In this difficult historical period, the Hungarian people assure the Polish patriots struggling against the counterrevolution to defend socialism of their solidarity and support. It is the resolute intention of our party and government to strengthen and expand relations, in the spirit of fraternal friendship and on the basis of the principle of proletarian internationalism, between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Polish People's Republic in every area.

This is the firm position of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic: The introduction of the state of emergency is a constitutional right of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic and a domestic affair of that country. There are people in the West who question this, because they see their concepts of overthrowing the socialist system being defeated. They are interfering in Poland's constitutional order and would like to force their own ideas onto the Polish people. By so doing, they are harming not only the Polish people, but international security, European detente and peace as well.

The bilateral relations of the Hungarian People's Republic are developing at an appropriate pace with the socialist countries outside the European Continent -- the Republic of Cuba, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We are striving to develop relations identical to those among the socialist countries with the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The development of our relations with the People's Republic of China is restricted by the present Chinese leadership's anti-Soviet and antisocialist line, a line striving for hegemony. The actions of the Chinese leaders even endanger peace on some occasions.

The larger portion of the European socialist countries belongs to the Warsaw Pact. Our party and government highly value the activity pursued in the Warsaw Pact: This organization has done a great deal not only for the defense of its member countries, but for peaceful cooperation between the socialist and capitalist countries as well. The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee has made very many important and realistic proposals to the NATO countries in the matter of disarmament and European peace and security. It is not the Warsaw Pact's fault that the other side was willing to examine on merit only a few of its proposals. Even now, at any moment, the Warsaw Pact countries are prepared to conclude disarmament and security agreements based on equal rights that consider the security interests of every country. The fact that, in general, the NATO countries are not yet ready to do so today speaks for itself.

CEMA has done a great deal toward developing economic cooperation among the member countries. Life shows, however, that this is not sufficient. We believe that cooperation among the member countries must be made closer still and the implementation of the comprehensive program must be accelerated.

Other effective measures, too, are needed to alleviate the problems of member countries. We are looking forward expectantly to the planned meeting of the CEMA country leaders and assume a share in preparing it.

Our Bilateral Relations With the Advanced Capitalist Countries

It is highly important how our country's relations develop with the advanced capitalist countries. We can say: Our bilateral relations are settled with all the advanced capitalist countries and we continue to regard their development -- on the basis of mutual advantage and consistent with the recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act -- as an important task. We are convinced that, by expanding our bilateral relations -- commensurate with our strength -- we can contribute to strengthening mutual understanding and the atmosphere of trust among countries with different social systems. Discussions between prominent Hungarian figures and leading politicians of those countries have been held in that spirit. We regard negotiations between Janos Kadar and other Hungarian leaders and Western statesmen visiting our country as of outstanding significance. It is the experience of many years that these discussions greatly contribute to the development of bilateral relations and to clarifying viewpoints and bringing them closer to one another on various international issues. We attribute great significance to Gyorgy Lazar's visit to the FRG. We are paying particular attention to fostering our relations with small and medium-sized European capitalist countries and developing cooperation with them. This is demonstrated well by Austrian Chancellor Dr Bruno Kreisky's recent visit to Hungary and its result. This also applies here to our premier's useful talks in Denmark and Greece and the visit of the president of the Republic of Cyprus to Hungary.

In the future, as before, we, on our part, will strive for a balanced expansion, without discrimination, with the advanced capitalist countries, including non-European countries like the United States, Canada, Japan and Australia. Of course, success in this does not depend on us alone, but on our capitalist partners as well. It must be said openly that we are still meeting by no means minor obstacles on the part of some countries, particularly common market organs, in developing our economic relations.

As they do in international life, the countries of the developing world are playing an increasingly significant role in our foreign political activity. Today, our country has diplomatic relations with more than 80 developing countries, and we have trade agreements with approximately 60 countries. Our foreign trade turnover has doubled in 10 years, amounting to about 20 percent of our turnover cleared in dollars.

A favorable development of our high-level contacts with the developing countries is indicative of a deepening of our political cooperation. Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council, had talks with leaders of Ethiopia, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Algeria on an African tour in the autumn of last year. This year alone, we were able to welcome in our country the heads of state of Angola, Kuwait, Libya, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Nigeria, as well as the first deputy premier of Iraq. Our parliamentary delegation led by Janos Peter, deputy president of the National Assembly, that has visited several Latin American and Southeast Asian countries has done a successful job. Contacts with the developing countries on a foreign ministerial level have further expanded; interest in our country has increased and readiness to cooperate has grown stronger. The several thousand Hungarian experts and advisers who are working in developing countries and helping these countries develop under mutually beneficial agreement are enhancing our country's prestige.

It is highly significant, beyond bilateral relations, that most developing countries are pursuing an anti-imperialist foreign policy and coming out more and more resolutely for the cause of peace, security and progress. For that reason, as well as others, we attribute great importance to the next scheduled summit conference of the nonaligned countries. This is our sincere wish: Let the Nonaligned Movement also strengthen its unity and concerted action at that forum on the basis of the joint platform that has thus far been elaborated.

On our part, we consistently support the international activity of the developing countries and the Nonaligned Movement in the joint struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism. We aid their legitimate endeavors toward creating mutually beneficial international economic relations of a new type, in consolidating their economic independence. We are prepared to continue to promote, according to our means, their economic ascent.

Hungary's Activity at International Forums

Representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic are working actively in the United Nations and its organs. They have won the recognition of numerous other countries through their proposals and initiatives.

The Hungarian People's Republic continues to enjoy prestige in international life. We owe this to the MSZMP's consistently principled policy of 25 years, the stability of our socialist system and the results attained by our working people through devoted work. This is recognized throughout the world. The events connected to the 25th anniversary of the defeat of the 1956 counterrevolution can prove it. Although certain extremist Western circles and rightist Hungarian emigrants wanted extensively to exploit this anniversary against our country, to discredit socialism, their "endeavors" were isolated and remained, in essence, without a response. Not even the most reactionary commentators were able to ignore socialist Hungary's already 25 years of dymanic political and economic development, the flourishing of our country. We remain willing to "talk about" and even engage in a debate about Hungary, because we know that on the basis of our results, a stable internal position and consistent international activity, we have enough to say.

The principles and main line of our party's international activity and our government's foreign policy are unchanged; also in the future, as before, we will strive successfully to realize these in practice. We support every endeavor and proposal that contributes to ensuring peaceful international circumstances for our work of socialist construction.

Consolidating peace and security and strengthening factors and elements of detente remain the focal point of our country's international activity. Together with the rest of the Warsaw Pact countries, we are consistently struggling to avert the danger of war and restrain the arms race and for disarmament and equal security, to be accomplished through a lower level of armaments.

Consolidating peace and security would be best served by our realization of universal and total disarmament. Since that is not yet realistic, we must strive to attain progress in some partial problems of disarmament. As we know, quite a few agreements have been reached in that respect, but this favorable process has slowed down.

Within the great sphere of disarmament problems, particular importance must be attributed to the imitation and reduction of nuclear weapons. If furthering the cause of disarmament is the most important current problem -- which it certainly is -- then, as part of it, the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons is the most urgent task.

That is the reason our people and government gladly welcomed the Soviet-U.S. agreements on the limitation of strategic weapons. We can only regret the fact that the U.S. Senate has not ratified the SALT I agreement.

We Welcome the Geneva Talks

Averting the anger that has arisen as a result of the 1979 Brussels decision is one of the most important tasks of the present times. The deployment of 572 intermediate-range nuclear missiles in 5 West European countries would upset not only the European, but also the global military balance of power, because, although the missiles intended to be deployed are interim range, they -- since they can reach the Soviet Union's areas of vital importance -- are considered as being of a strategic nature.

It is common knowledge, at the same time, that the Soviet Union's intermediate-range nuclear weapons are unable to reach the United States.

We know what anxiety has been elicited by the NATO plan in the European countries. We appreciate also the efforts made by some West European governments to induce the United States to sit down at the negotiating table to discuss this extremely important issue. We welcome the Soviet-U.S. talks, begun on 30 November in Geneva, about intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Although we know that these talks will be complex and prolonged, their beginning must be appraised positively.

Previously, two important statements were made on the subject: proposals by U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. What emerged from President Reagan's suggestions was that the United States continues to insist on unilateral advantages. The so-called "zero option" with regard to land-based nuclear missiles would mean that, while the Soviet Union dismantled its land-based missiles, the so-called forward-based U.S. nuclear missiles, as well as the British and French forces capable of delivering a nuclear strike, would remain intact. The issue was approached in an entirely different manner by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. He declared: Contingent on a moratorium on the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles -- until a final agreement is reached on the issues -- the Soviet Union is prepared to reduce unilaterally the number of its intermediate-range nuclear missiles. The Soviet Union is prepared even to dismantle all nuclear weapons in Europe, but that must be done by the rest of the nuclear powers as well. That would be a genuine zero option.

There is no doubt that the outcome of the Geneva Soviet-U.S. talks will greatly affect the entire world situation. We also hope that the American side will take the firm wishes of the European peoples into account and that its willingness to come to terms will be strengthened. We also hope that it will be possible at the Geneva talks to prevent the realization of a concept that constitutes such a great danger for the peoples of Europe.

It gives the peoples of our and other continents hope that the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States will meet at the beginning of 1982 and that there is a certain willingness apparent on the American side to discuss moving the SALT process forward.

Concepts concerning the creation of nuclear-free zones in various areas of Europe have aroused a great echo in the European countries. We feel that the efforts to create nuclear-free zones in the northern part of Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean area deserve support. According to the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers' Committee held at the beginning of December in Bucharest, it would be most practicable if all nuclear weapons were removed from the European area and all Europe became a zone free of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union's position on this matter is also known: It is prepared to commit itself not to use nuclear weapons, under any circumstances, against countries that belong to a nuclear-free zone and do not produce, obtain from others or stock nuclear weapons. It would be a favorable thing if similar views were also expressed by the rest of the powers possessing nuclear weapons.

The talks on reducing armed forces in central Europe have been underway in Vienna since 1973, for as long as 8 years. The participating socialist countries sat down at the negotiating table as soon as possible with the intention of concluding an agreement, on the basis of the principle of equal security. There was no dearth of socialist proposals; however, one after the other, the NATO countries have rejected them. The socialist countries cannot be accused in Vienna of not being flexible enough and ready to reach a compromise, since they have accepted the larger proportion of the proposals submitted by the NATO countries. To facilitate progress at the talks, the Soviet Union has even made a unilateral gesture; it has withdrawn 20,000 soldiers and 1,000 tanks from the GDR.

Nevertheless, it is as though nothing has happened, because the NATO countries keep delaying agreement. It is difficult to shake off the impression that the NATO countries do not want an agreement of equal rights in Vienna, that they are striving to obtain unilateral advantages there as well.

We Support Continuation of the Helsinki Spirit

The Hungarian People's Republic has always devoted great attention to the European security and cooperation process. We were among the initiators of the Helsinki conference and our government has done more than a little to expand our country's relations with the signatory countries on the basis of the principles and recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act.

It is natural that we also expected progress from the Madrid meeting that began in the fall of 1980 with regard to a consolidation of peace and security. It was quite a disappointment for us that, contrary to constructive and fruitful activity bringing progress, some Western delegates preferred slanders against the socialist countries. The strength of the Helsinki process is shown by the fact that some results have been attained by the meeting despite some obvious setbacks: some 80 percent of the text of the final communique planned to be issued has been formulated. Of course, some problems have remained, including very important ones which require further efforts before they are solved.

We regard the most important result of the meeting thus far to be that all participants have been made to accept: In the not too distant future, a European conference on military detente and disarmament, which would be devoted to confidence-building measures and other issues facilitating a military detente, should be organized. To bring about the conference, the Soviet Union has made a generous gesture: Instead of the 250 km stipulated in the Helsinki Final Act, it is prepared to extend the validity of the confidence-building measures to its entire European area. It is only natural that such a significant proposal presupposes that the Western countries should also extend the zone of the confidence-building measures.

The Hungarian delegation is striving to ensure in Madrid that differences should be successfully surmounted in the end, because the successful conclusion of the meeting would greatly improve the international atmosphere, while its failure would retard the Helsinki process for a long time to come.

The protracted conflicts that have broken out in various parts of the world are having more than a small impact on relations between countries and making activity toward resolving international problems more difficult. Together with the rest of the countries of the socialist community, our country will continue to make consistent efforts toward eliminating the existing powderkegs and reducing their effect in poisoning the international atmosphere. I wish to emphasize also at this forum that, according to its means, the Hungarian People's Republic is always ready to participate in resolving the tension points that threaten peace.

As for the Middle East crisis, the failure of the Camp David separate bargain has become even more obvious today. Even leading circles of the West European countries and some pro-Western Arab countries reflect this realization. There are various ideas emerging about a path out of the critical situation. In our opinion, the essence of a path out -- as we have stressed on more than one occasion -- is recognition of the Palestinian people's right of self-determination, including the establishment of an independent state, withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and a guarantee for the security of the countries of the area. Our opinion has been and remains that an international conference must be convened with the participation of all interested sides, including the participation of the sole representative of the Palestinian people, the PLO. The Israeli parliament passed an outrageous resolution on 15 December 1981: It adopted a government proposal to annex the Golan Heights, which belong to Syria. The whole world has condemned this decision as an act that reveals Israel's aggressive expansionist endeavors.

This is what so-called strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel has led to! Such steps make restoring lasting peace and security in the area almost impossible. The situation is further complicated by large-scale U.S. troops movements, provocations against some countries of the Steadfastness Front, including Libya.

It is not without some anxiety that the world looks upon the developments experienced in the Persian Gulf area. U.S. leaders speak of a threatened state of the Gulf countries and offer them "protection" from some abstract enemy, although, according to every indication, these countries are capable of defending themselves. Still, that is not the essence of the matter, but the fact that they would like to obtain suitable bases for the so-called Rapid Deployment Force.

The undeclared war against Afghanistan is continuing. The tension fomented from outside -- with U.S., Chinese and Pakistani assistance -- is only good for diverting the attention of the countries of this area from the struggle against imperialism and its allies. In our opinion, the Afghan Government's well-known realistic proposals, which respect the genuine interests of all the sides concerned, proposals that are also supported by the Hungarian Government, offer a good basis for settling the situation.

Tension has increased considerably in the Caribbean and Central American area in recent months. Grave threats are being leveled at revolutionary Nicaragua, and imperialist intervention is increasingly open in El Salvador. Some Washington statements do not exclude the possibility of an aggressive step, some kind of a "punitive act," against the Republic of Cuba or Nicaragua. Most countries and peoples condemn such plans. I would like to declare from here as well: Our people are in soldarity with the fraternal Cuban and Nicaraguan people bent on defending their independence and sovereignty.

The hegemonistic policy of the Chinese leadership, which is in collusion with extremist imperialist forces, and political and -- by no means in the least -- military activity that prevents consolidation in the area greatly hinder the development of the peaceful constructive work of the Indochinese countries and restoration of their economy. There is only one genuine cure to remedy the situation that has developed there: China's expansionist endeavors, its hypocritical policy aimed at dividing the countries of Southeast Asia and its propaganda activity must be brought to an end.

For understandable reasons, neither China, nor the enemies of the people's regime like the results of the consolidation in Kampuchea. However, the attitude of the ASEAN countries is not altogether understandable. Is it conceivable that the people of Kampuchea would let a group of exiles be planted upon them, whose armed force, at that, consists of Pol Pot's gunmen? It should be acknowledged that the Kampuchean people have shaken off the rule of Pol Pot and other Chinese satraps once and for all and are working successfully, under their party's and government's leadership, to restore their country's economy and build a new and better society.

In recent months, highly significant Soviet and other socialist proposals have been made on settling the Middle East and the Persian Gulf problems and consolidating peace and security in the Indian Ocean and the Far East. We are of the opinion: These are timely and realistic proposals, and it would be desirable for the countries concerned to respond positively and initiate specific talks as soon as possible on those issues.

A few words should be said about South Africa as well. The racist government of the Republic of South Africa is scheming to create -- obviously with the approval of its supporters abroad -- a warlike powderkeg on the southern border of Angola. That regime ignores the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola. Its troops penetrate deeply and wreak barbarous destruction in Angola. It is high time for serious steps to be made to subdue this brazen aggression! The countries concerned should take serious measures at least to ensure the independence of Namibia.

One should not forget, either, that there is also a problem in Europe that has been dragging on for a long time and is waiting a solution -- the Cyprus issue. Our position is also unchanged in this respect. We favor restoring the unity of Cyprus as a state and ensuring its territorial integrity. At the talks between the island country's two communities of people, a solution satisfying the parties should be found. We come out for withdrawal of all foreign troops and termination of foreign military bases. We are in agreement with maintaining and ensuring Cyprus' nonaligned status.

As can be seen: More than enough problems have accumulated in the world. From time to time, the socialist countries and Warsaw Pact members in particular review the situation that has developed and define joint tasks. That is what we also did recently at the Bucharest session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers' Committee, where we defined our joint tasks in connection with two very important issues -- the second extraordinary session, devoted to disarmament, of the UN General Assembly scheduled for 1982 and the Madrid meeting.

The session has reformulated the proposals of the Warsaw Pact leading organs with regard to disarmament, peace and the consolidation of security.

The problems that have accumulated in international life are great, but not unsolvable. If commitment to a peaceful solution, mutual observance of interests and sufficient patience prevail, results cannot fail to materialize. The socialist countries, including our country, believe that a peaceful solution to disputed international issues and conflicts is the correct method and have always regarded negotiations as the paramount means for solving them. We unreservedly support the jointly developed proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries calling for a peaceful solution and are assuming an active role in realizing them.

Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's latest visit to the GDR and meetings of West European politicians in Moscow and other socialist countries have reaffirmed: The Soviet Union and the socialist countries are prepared to discuss any issue without preconditions. However, talks can be successful only if neither of the negotiating sides strives for unilateral advantages, but, on the contrary, also takes the other side's elementary security requirements and interests into consideration.

I deem it necessary to also emphasize the fact that, in the present situation, the Soviet-U.S. relationship is an even more decisive one, plays an even more important role than previously in solving international problems. A lasting settlement of urgent international problems and an extensive development of relations among countries with different systems are hardly conceivable without a suitable cooperation between the two countries. We would like to hope that Soviet-U.S. relations, which have deteriorated in recent years through no fault of the Soviet Union, will be normalized sooner or later. We fully support the Soviet efforts to that end, the proposals of the 26th CPSU Congress, the new peace program for the nineties and the Soviet proposals made since then.

The increase in international tension has given rise to many problems and difficulties both in our domestic constructive work and international activity. We know that time and great effort will be needed to enable all sober-minded forces of the socialist and other peace-loving countries to overcome the cold war endeavors of the extremist imperialist circles. This is our firm conviction, however: Peaceful coexistence and detente are not a passing episode in the history of mankind, but the only realistic alternative for all countries and peoples of the world. irrespective of their social system and commitment of alliance.

One of the most significant results of detente, the principle and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, is also making its impact felt today. It is instrumental in the fact that, despite the increase of tension, cooperation in the political, economic, scientific and other areas is relatively balanced among countries with different social systems.

It is still exerting a stabilizing effect on other areas of the world and the entire international atmosphere. Despite imperialist endeavors, the objective basis of the detente process continues to prevail: the balance of power between the Soviet Union and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The advance of socialism and progressive forces, the active peace policy of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, and the resolute support of peace by hundreds of millions of people open new prospects to the world and guarantee that those obsessed with tension and war cannot prevail. We are confident that the present tension will subside after a certain time and detente and a policy of sober-mindedness will reassert themselves sooner or later. Of course, this will not come about smoothly. Therefore, a firm and resolute struggle must be waged in the international arena and the work front alike.

Our unswerving foreign policy of several decades is closely linked to the most important foreign political task of the socialist community, the goal of consolidating peace and security. Our multifaceted fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community, also guarantees the success of our peace policy, Frigyes Puja said in conclusion, requesting the National Assembly to discuss and approve the report submitted on behalf of the government.

Marjai Economy Speech 17 Dec

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[Text] Budapest, 17 Dec (MTI) -- Jozsef Marjai, vice-chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, contributed to the Thursday debate of the National Assembly's winter session following the budget speech of the [words indistinct] the international division of labour, the deputy premier stressed that "socialist integration is the natural medium and the basis of our activities -- cooperation with the Soviet Union [words indistinct] of all -- which is and will be a decisive factor. The development of our economic ties with the other parts of the world is based on it.

"Hungary's political and economic stability, capability and the nation's good mood are due to the policy pursued by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for more than 25 years. This policy elicits respect and honour not only in the country but also abroad", pointed out Jozsef Jarjai.

Then he went on, saying: "It is a particularly important political and economic value that in the course of our history we have never had such a good reputation, respect and honour than nowadays. First of all, our socialist friends' appreciation and confidence encourage us. That is why it is a pleasure to remind us the praiseful statement of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, secretary-general of the CPSU, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, expressed at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, or the assessment of Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, said during his visit to Hungary, concerning our work and firmness in the socialist community of the world."

Then Jazsef Marjai underlined the significance of the fact that "during the difficult past decade we have not only maintained and protected but also further developed all our achievements, which elicited respect and attention in the country and abroad."

The deputy prime minister recalled the drop of exchange rates. The blows in prices started in 1973 and 1979. About the latter he said that "it was as burdensome as the previous one." In his opinion, "the enormous efforts that this country and economy have made since 1978 should have produced spectacular figures under the previous more favourable circumstances..."

"Facts have proved the correctness of our policy and political practice, including our directives confirmed at the 12th HSWP Congress of our economic policy, the country's stability, the capability of our socialist society and economy, as well as the years passed have assessed them by the standard of great trials", emphasized Jozsef Marjai.

The deputy premier mentioned, as the most important economic tasks, the improvement of our external economic balance and the protection of living standards. "To attain these targets are indispensable conditions and means for increasing the qualitative transition of the whole Hungarian economy, introducing the phase of intensive economy, improving international competitiveness and better adaptation. The way we achieved these two main economic policy targets, rendered international appreciation: The external economic balance of the country has improved, our foreign trade is almost balanced, and we have established the conditions of a gradual surplus production in the coming years. Our balance of payments has improved and credibility strengthened."

As the deputy premier said, the 1982 national plan "is to follow and develop this economic policy and practice... We continue to carry out the reform, we continue to stimulate the society, first of all the economy, or as you like it, to force them to achieve higher output." Jozsef Marjai took the next year plan as a starting point for next year's economy, which can be modified if necessary. He said that "we have to realize those targets that assure to accomplish our main economic policy targets."

The vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers took a stand for further improving design and regulation systems, promoting prize system, continuing wage and income regulators and further increasing enterprise independence. The country expects agriculture to perform considerable output in 1982 too: A new record should be achieved in wheat cultivation, an advance should be reached in productivity and in reducing species expenditures. As for the industry, "a quicker qualitative development is expected from engineering. The proper implementation of those prior development programes which play an important role in establishing an economic range of products is also required." In this context he referred to the central development programme of the pharmaceutical industry already under way, and the electronics programme to be launched on January 1, 1982. A comprehensive government programme on material management is to be completed also next year.

Speaking about the improvement of the Hungarian economy's market positions, he attached great emphasis to the quality of products and cadre management. "Studies indicate that almost three-quarters of quality deficiencies are due to management lenience, not labor morale plays an important role in the failure of enforcing quality requirements, but the lack of managing skills." [sentence as received]

Then Jozsef Marjai went on, saying: "Measures that enlarge and enrich enterprise forms are often mentioned nowadays. First of all, it is necessary to consider that there is nothing else at stake than the utilization of those creative forces to which we have not attached adequate attention so far. The forms that can be utilized in socialist production relations, were reduced without reasons in the beginning of socialist building. We started to correct this practice years before. It is necessary now to enrich the forms that serve our basic social interest and increase society's performance."

Referring to the debates and misunderstandings in this issue, Jozsef Marjai said: "It is false to come to a conclusion that entrepreneurial spirit and desire as well as entrepreneurial activity and attitude are privileges or characteristic features solely of these forms. We expect socialist big enterprises to meet these requirements first of all."

At the end of his speech, Jozsef Marjai turned back to Hungary's participation in the international division of labour. "Strengthening and improving socialist integration and the existing cooperation with CMEA member countries are questions of fundamental importance for us. It is indispensable, even under the worsening present circumstances, that the CMEA and the socialist integration should help the member countries meet the requirements of the present phase of development, and they should offer additional sources for supporting the countries' economic policy targets and strengthen the international positions and competitiveness of the member countries through cooperation.

"We do our utmost to find new joint solutions for the joint tasks in the socialist integration. In short-term the requirement is to meet liabilities in a proper manner, and in this context Hungary has nothing to be ashamed. We honestly meet our commitments, and it is and will be of prior importance for us."

"Increasing our competitiveness is a basic condition of developing our relations with the non-socialist world. Simultaneously, the government has to apply all means for protecting our interests, preventing measures against us, hindering favouritism. In addition, we have to be present in each international economic and monetary institutions, which are effective in world economy or any considerable sector of it, where we have to enforce our influence and rights as a socialist country", stressed Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai. In conclusion he proposed the National Assembly to pass the bill on next year's budget.

Istvan Hetenyi responded the comments heard during the discussion. As he said, deputies exchanged views not only on the next year's budget, but they also approached the current issues of the Hungarian economy in a very constructive mood. Several proposals were heard, concerning, for instance, socialist undertaking, responsibility and energy husbandry, which are regarded by the government, too, as clues to further advance.

In conclusion, the minister expressed his concord with the contributions to the government's decisions, and underlined the respect of work and performance, which are not only basic requirements of the Hungarian society's advance, but also its guarantee.

Then the National Assembly unanimously passed the bill, with its expenditure introduced, on the 1982 budget of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Thursday session of the National Assembly concluded. It will continue its work on Friday.

1982 Economic Plan Summed Up

LD201306 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 19 Dec (MTI) -- Government has discussed and approved the 1982 National Economic Plan. Relying on the economic development of 1981, the 1982 plan envisages continuation of the economic policy of the 6th Five-Year Plan.

Development in 1981:

The Council of Ministers has established that the two chief economic policy objectives of the 1981 National Economic Plan have been met. These were improvement of the economic balance and preservation of the standard of living of the population. However, those processes which raise efficiency and cause lasting improvement in the economic balance have not emerged in full in production.

National income has grown slightly but still lags behind the planned amount. The growth in production derived fully of higher productivity.

Domestic consumption more or less remained at the 1980 level: The consumption of the population has grown faster than anticipated and accumulation has been more moderate than planned. Investments still surpass the plan stipulations. In the domestic utilization of the national income, the proportion of consumption has continued to grow.

Industrial production and export have risen only slightly. The energy consumption of the national economy has dropped, just as well as industrial employment. Per capita production has increased considerably.

The output of the building industry has declined as planned.

Owing mostly to uncooperating weathers, only slightly more farm produce have been put out this year than in 1980. Less bread grains have been harvested than foreseen. Although agricultural production was enough to ensure a smooth domestic food supply, less than reckoned could be exported. The producer price level corresponds to the plan stipulation.

Due to demographic grounds, employment has dropped. On the whole, the companies are making better economy with workforce which has eased the earlier shortages considerably. The per capita real income of the population has grown in excess of the plan figure, the per wage-earner real wage has also risen. The planned social welfare policy measures have been duly carried out. The real value of the social benefits in [words indistinct] bigger than last year.

The consumer price level has approached the planned rise. Commerce is capable of meeting growing demands. Also almost as many state and private flats have been built as planned, but more hospital, creche, kindergarten places and schoolrooms have been created than foreseen.

The volume of investments has decreased but is expected to still surpass the plan stipulation. The costs of state investment remained within the planned brackets while company investments surpassed the plan.

Foreign trade turnover expanded slower than planned, with rouble import declining and export growing. The trade deficit, converging to the plan, will apparently be smaller than in 1980. Non-rouble export rose slower than planned. This trade too is expected to show small deficit.

Chief objectives of the 1982 National Economic Plan:

The principal objectives of economic work will be also in 1982 improvement of the national economic equilibrium and maintenance of the living standard of the population.

The growth in production shall mostly serve the expansion of profitable export and the reasonable replacement of costly import. The modification of the economic regulator system is aimed at raising the efficiency of production, enhancing the international competitiveness of Hungarian products, streamlining the product pattern and improving the economic balance. The productivity of labour shall grow faster than production itself. Specific material and energy input shall decrease more markedly than in the foregoing years. The final domestic utilization of the national income, with a simultaneous drop in accumulation, will decline. In order to preserve the standard of living, the real income and consumption of the population will augment slightly.

In accordance with the plan objective, in 1982 the national income will increase by 1.0-1.5 percent and domestic utilization will decline by 1.0-2.0 per cent against the corresponding 1981 level. Industrial production will grow by 2.0-2.5, agricultural production by 4.0-4.5, per citizen real income by 0.0-0.5 and the consumption of the population by 0.5-1.0 per cent. At current prices 178-180 thousand million forints can be spent on investments of the socialist sector. A bigger portion of the industrial production shall serve the improvement of the external balance. First of all, those enterprises can reckon on dymanic development which are capable of rapidly raising their non-rouble export or efficiently replace import. The modification of the system of economic regulators and the economy organization measures also promote this end.

The plan reckons that depending on the efficiency of production, the development, economic and financial situation of the companies will differentiate further. Industrial employment is expected to decline. The global energy consumption of the national economy may not rise or only in a very small degree. Domestic production will cover almost 50 per cent of the country's energy demand, with the share of hydrocarbons declining slightly. The main trend and pace of the transformation of the production structure will continue to be determined by the running central development programs.

Reckoning with average weathers, within agricultural production plant growing shall expand faster than animal husbandry. The auxiliary activities of the agricultural enterprises shall broaden further. In view of this year's poorer than expected wheat yield and the necessity of keeping up good and even domestic food supplies, food export will probably increase only slightly.

The domestic producer price level -- considering also the expectable foreign trading price tendencies -- is expected to increase by 4-4.5 per cent in industry. Some of this growth will derive from the 1981 energy price hike. The building industry price level will go up by some 4 per cent. In the rest of the national economic branches moderate changes are foreseen.

Employment is computed to decline further in the national economy. Within this, drops are expected in industry and building industry labour. The agricultural and productive servicing sectors will more or less keep their staffs and small rise is likely in the non-productive branches. The demand for workforce will probably slacken as economy organization measures will also promote the reshuffling of labour to areas in for the most vigorous development. In the first half of next year the country will switch over to the five-day workweek which should be implemented by self-effort of the companies. The switch-over may not cause deterioration in the financial, economic standing of the companies; neither may salaries decrease. The health and educational branches will receive central support to engage the necessary extra staff. The plan envisages 4-5 per cent rise in the average salaries of workers and employees. It is a requirement that the wage management of the companies reflect better individual performances.

The consumer price level will increase by about 5 per cent.

Expenses covering social allocations will grow slower than this year.

Small trade turnover will increase slightly, but the already achieved level of supplies should be maintained. New operation forms in the retail trade will continue to spread.

The infrastructural supplies of the population will grow in a moderate scale. Some 77,000 new homes will be built and 19,000 to 20,000 of them will be state-owned ones. The plan foresees the reconstruction of 19,000 to 20,000 state-owned flats and the modernization of some 10,000. The number of hospital beds will be increased by 1,200, while the capacity of nurseries by 3,000 and kindergartens by 8,000 to 9,000; and 1,200 to 1,300 new primary school classrooms are to be built. Almost 92 per cent of primary school pupils continue their studies in secondary schools. The number of students at higher educational institutions will moderately grow less.

The 1982 plan -- because of the requirements of maintaining balance -- foresees a further decrease in investments. State investments will grow less to a greater extent, and enterprise investments to a smaller extent. Investments serving energy saving and energy production will grow. During the year the Paks nuclear power station's construction will reach an important phase. Block No. 1 is to supply electricity. Foreign trade turnover will develop more dynamically than this year, with a growth in exports compared to those in 1981. Foreign trade deficit will continue to grow less.

REPORTAGE OF RECENT GOVERNMENT ACTIONS TAKEN

Sejm To Analyze Economic Drafts

LD281919 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] The Sejm subcommissions formed last week in order to analyze the drafts of eight bills presented by the government in connection with the economic reform will undertake parliamentary work immediately after the new year.

As we have already reported, the first reading of these drafts took place in the Sejm Commissions for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances; for Legislative Work; and for matters of workforce self-management of enterprises.

These documents, worked out in the period before 13 December, are being submitted to the Sejm in unaltered form. This was stressed by a government representative at a session of the commissions, which bears witness to the striving to introduce -- in as broad a range as possible -- elements of the new economic system, and to create conditions for comprehensive economic reform.

From 5 to 8 January the subcommission which is to deal with the bills concerning prices and foreign trade will hold sessions. The subcommission which is to analyze the drafts connected with the taxation and financial economy of enterprises will also meet during this period.

The two remaining subcommissions, which are to consider drafts of the bank law, the statute of the Polish National Bank, and the drafts on planning and statistics, are to meet during the first 10 days of January.

The entire package of eight draft bills submitted by the government is also to be discussed in the Intercommissional Group for Matters of the Economic Reform, which was set up by the Sejm in November.

After the completion of this work, the draft bills are to return, as usual, to the Sejm commission's agenda.

Council of Ministers Decisions

LD290046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Here are decisions of the Council of Ministers' Economic Committee.

The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers has examined and approved the draft principles for the functioning of the economy during the coming months. These are based on basic solutions contained in the resolution of the Council of Ministers of 20 November of this year and concern the operation of enterprises in 1982, but at the same time take into consideration consequences resulting for the economy from the present specific situation. In this way, in spite of the martial law, a new economic mechanism is being introduced which is based on self-financing of enterprises.

The adopted principles of cooperation create conditions for satisfying the basic needs of the community. The needs, together with the means of their implementation, have been incorporated, as we know, into the operational programs. The list of these has been enlarged and the objectives made more concrete. For example the tasks concerning the bakery industry and cereal industry have been included in the operational programs. Municipal transport was also included.

In order to ensure proper implementation of tasks contained in the operational programs. It is expected that program plenipotentiaries will be appointed.

Enterprises undertaking production which is included in the operational programs, including cooperating units, will enjoy priority in supply of materials, fuels and energy. Production not included in the programs will be performed based on the supply implemented in accordance with the principles of the 30 November 1981 resolution of the Council of Ministers.

In order to ensure proper control over the supply of raw materials which are in short supply, special supervisory teams will be set up at the supply and distribution centers.

Solutions concerning the setting of prices, as contained in the 30 November government resolution, will be adhered to. Thus, some prices will be of a free or agreed character. In areas protected from the point of view of basic social needs, prices controlled by the state will be in force.

Solutions concerning wages and financial management of enterprises will be unchanged and remain in accordance with the 30 November resolution. The general nature of currency allocations for exporters will also be maintained. However, in view of the country's payment situation the criteria of calculating the allocations will be more stringent.

Considering the need to ensure material supply for priority projects, some enterprises will find themselves in a difficult situation due to shortage of raw materials. Hence it is proposed to prepare by 31 January 1982 a list of enterprises threatened by reduced production. Procedure in respect of this type of enterprise will be prepared at the same time, taking into consideration the interests of workforces.

Detailed principles for the economy's functioning in the coming months will be published before this year ends.

The Economic Committee also approved provisions of the credit system and monetary and credit policy in 1982. The principles accord with the system adopted for the economy's functioning. They do not limit the scope of the enterprises' independence and ensure the implementation of social and economic priorities.

The Economic Committee provisionally examined the draft directive of the Council of Ministers concerning the introduction of a general obligation to perform work during the period of martial law. It is being proposed to include under the obligation only men from 18 to 45 who are not studying or working, and particularly those whose sources of livelihood cannot be documented.

Travel Restrictions Suspended

LD281940 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Ministry of Internal Affairs communique]

[Text] In view of the progressive process of stabilizing social discipline, the minister of internal affairs has instructed that the cancellation of the following, introduced 22 December for the holiday period, be prolonged until further notice. The obligation to obtain permission to change the place of temporary residence within the borders of a given voivodship and the obligation to report before 12 hours have passed after arrival in a given locality within the same voivodship. During this period, persons changing the place of temporary residence are obliged to report before 4 days have passed, that is according to the principles universally in force before the introduction of martial law.

On the other hand, persons who have obtained permission for a temporary residence in another voivodship are still obliged to report immediately after arriving in a given locality, no later, however, than 12 hours after arrival.

The relaxations in question do not concern persons leaving for the state border zone.

GENERAL DEBICKI INTERVIEWED FOR TRYBUNA LUDU

AU281723 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 81 p 3

[Andrzej Dzierzanowski and Witold Juchniewicz interview with Div Gen Dr Mieczyslaw Debicki, secretariat chief of the Committee for National Defense -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] MARTIAL LAW, PROCLAIMED BY A DECISION OF THE STATE COUNCIL, IS IN FORCE ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. THAT PECULIAR SITUATION REQUIRES FROM THE CITIZENS PRIMARILY UNDERSTANDING AND DISCIPLINE, WHICH IMPLY MANY RENUNCIATIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, NOT ALL PEOPLE ARE FULLY AWARE WHAT THAT STATE SIGNIFIES IN THE SPHERE OF STATE FUNCTIONS, AS WELL AS CIVIL DUTIES AND ATTITUDES. THAT WAS THE TOPIC DISCUSSED BY US WITH DIV GEN DR MIECZYSLAW DEBICKI, SECRETARIAT CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

The functioning of the state and the lives of its citizens under martial law, General M. Debicki said, call primarily for THE STRICT OBSERVATION OF THE LEGAL NORMS INTRODUCED, WHICH OBVIOUSLY DIFFER FROM THOSE WHICH WERE BINDING BEFORE 13 DECEMBER 1981. Those are hard and severe laws ensuring the intensified protection of the basic interests of the state and the citizens directly endangered by the aggressive activity of destructive forces intending to destroy socialism in our country. THE OBJECTIVE OF MARTIAL LAW IS TO EFFICIENTLY PROTECT CALM AND PUBLIC ORDER, TO RESTORE SOCIAL DISCIPLINE, AS WELL AS TO ENSURE THE EFFICIENT FUNCTIONING OF THE AUTHORITIES, OF STATE AND ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION TO SUCH AN EXTENT AND IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PROVIDE GUARANTEES FOR POLAND TO OVERCOME THE ACUTE CRISIS.

The citizens are increasingly aware that martial law was proclaimed because of the emergency of the hour and that it was fully justified by the development of the country's sociopolitical and economic situation. Following the recent revelation of many facts attesting to the activity of forces hostile to our state, everyone has probably become better aware of the need to protect the sovereignty and independence of the Polish People's Republic and to eliminate internal threats by introducing martial law norms.

MARTIAL LAW HAS BEEN INTRODUCED OUT OF SUPREME NECESSITY, and for this reason it has created, for a period, indispensable, strict new living conditions for the citizens and functioning conditions for all state structures. Those conditions, differing from the normal ones, amount primarily to the suspension or restriction of some constitutional civil rights, such as PERSONAL IMMUNITY, THE INVIOLABILITY OF DWELLINGS, SECRET CORRESPONDENCE, AS WELL AS FREEDOM OF SPEECH, THE PRESS GATHERINGS, MEETINGS, DEMONSTRATIONS AND MANIFESTATIONS, AS WELL AS STRIKES. All those restrictions are, by their nature, very painful for the public, although they are unavoidable from the point of view of the general goal pursued by martial law. On the other hand, martial law has broadened the scope of duties of the organs of state authorities and administration, socialized economy units and the citizens, compared with the duties in force before 13 December. Those are particular duties involving mainly military service, service in militarized units and civil defense formations, as well as services for the country's defense.

The conditions defined by martial law regulations, General M. Debicki said, are motivated by the principle, adopted for the duration of martial law, that the activity of all organs of state authorities and administration, of socialized enconomic units, and of public and trade organizations is subordinate to the interests of the state and of the nation. At the same time, the implementation of that principle implies the imposition of particular criminal responsibility, of responsibility for offenses, as well as of the disciplinary responsibility of the citizens, including public functionaries, for violating the legal order and for the unconscionable fulfillment of duties with regard to the state and the nation.

[Question] Many citizens confuse "martial law" [stan wojenny] with "the state of war" [stan wojny]. What is the difference between them?

[Answer] In the simplest terms, MARTIAL LAW APPLIES PRIMARILY TO THE INTERNAL SITUATION OF THE STATE AND ITS EDGE IS DIRECTED AGAINST THE ANTISTATE, SUBVERSIVE INTERNAL FORCES HOSTILE TO SOCIALISM IN POLAND WHICH HAD PUSHED SOCIETY TO THE BRINK OF CIVIL WAR. The imposition of martial law is the sole jurisdiction of the Council of State. On the other hand, the state of war is proclaimed by the Sejm, and if the Sejm is not in session, by the Council of State in the event of an armed aggression against the Polish People's Republic, or when the need for joint defense against the aggression arises from international agreements. Thus these are two different states, differing in principle, objectives, legal and other effects.

[Question] The Military Council of National Salvation has been formed. Consequently, has the jurisdiction of the supreme organs of state power and administration been restricted?

[Answer] The formation of the council stems from the constitutional duties and goals of the supreme state organs in the face of a direct threat to the sovereignty and biological existence of the nation. Army General W. Jaruzelski, council chairman, in his Sunday speech clearly and accurately highlighted the conditions under which the council was formed and the council's tasks. Attention is drawn to the fact that the council's activity had become necessary at the critical moment when the efforts of the Polish Sejm, Government and state administration organs proved to be ineffective and when the constitutional principles of the socialist system in Poland were absolutely jeopardized. The council, General W. Jaruzelski said in particular, has the task of "FOILING THE ATTEMPT AGAINST THE STATE, STABILIZING THE SITUATION, ENSURING THE EFFICIENT ACTIVITY OF ADMINISTRATION AND OF ECONOMIC UNITS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE LAW." THE GENERAL IDEA OF THE FORMATION AND ACTIVITY OF THE COUNCIL STEMS FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE CAPABLE OF DEVELOPING A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST RULE.

Hence, as practice has shown with increasing clarity, THE COUNCIL IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE ACTIVITY OF ALL THE EXISTING STRUCTURAL CELLS OF OUR STATE. On the contrary, the council invigorates the activity of those cells and consistently endeavors to ensure the increasingly more effective functioning of state power and administration organs under the conditions of martial law. Thus the council is a provisional organ, let us say an organ paving the way for our state toward activity in a normalized sociopolitical and economic situation.

[Question] What does martial law signify for the army? There are military patrols and vehicles in the streets. Moreover, a significant number of enterprises have been militarized.

[Answer] Those are the fundamental realities and consequences of martial law. The armed forces were unable to stay in the barracks because they have been burdened with important tasks and enormous responsibility. IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW, BY THE STRENGTH OF THE LAW, THE BASIC MILITARY SERVICE, MILITARY TRAINING AND EXERCISES, AS WELL AS PERIODICAL MILITARY SERVICE HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY INDEFINITE ACTIVE SERVICE, AS IN THE CASE OF MOBILIZATION AND IN WARTIME. A DEFINITE NUMBER OF DRAFTEES AND RESERVISTS CAN BE CALLED TO THAT SERVICE AT ANY MOMENT. And persons who fail to report for service within the stipulated time and place, including those shirking duty, are liable for imprisonment of at least 2 years or the death sentence.

THE MILITARIZATION OF CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONAL UNITS IN THE STATE ADMINISTRATION AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY IS OF ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE FOR MAINTAINING UNDER THE CONDITION OF MARTIAL LAW, THE EFFICIENT FUNCTIONING OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION, ENTERPRISES AND THE ECONOMIC AND DEFENSE INFRASTRUCTURE, INCLUDING SATISFACTION OF BASIC NEEDS AND PROTECTION OF THE POPULATION.

Without going into the details of that important problem, it is to be stressed that, in line with the regulations of the 21 November 1967 act on the general duty to defend the Polish People's Republic. MILITARIZATION ESSENTIALLY CHANGES THE LEGAL STATUS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED AT ORGANIZATIONAL UNITS ENCOMPASSED BY MILITARIZATION.

A person carrying out that service is obligated to follow instructions issued by superiors in service matters. Those instructions are equal to orders under the conditions of military service and in wartime. Such a person is criminally responsible for offenses in connection with that service in line with regulations effective for soldiers under active military service when mobilization is proclaimed or in wartime. Other regulations in this respect define increased criteria in matters involving service conditions, discharge from service, confinement to barracks and transfers to other jobs.

[Question] What services can be rendered for the state defense under martial law?

[Answer] In the most general terms, one can say that that applies to the assignment of menas of transportation, tools, machines and installations, as well as to the performance of personal services and services in kind -- their imposition and materialization depend on the needs arising from developments. Services are rendered for the benefit of the armed forces, civil defense formation and organizatinal units fulfilling tasks connected with the defense needs of the state in line with the regulations of the aforementioned act on the general duty to defend the Polish People's Republic, and their imposition is the jurisdiction of the appropriate organs.

THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, PERSONS OVER 16 AND UNDER 60 YEARS OF AGE MAY BE CALLED BY LOCAL ORGANS OF THE STATE ADMINISTRATION AT THE BASIC LEVEL TO PERFORM, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF COMPULSORY PERSONAL SERVICES, VARIOUS CASUAL JOBS IN A DEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME. PERSONS SHIRKING PERSONAL SERVICES OR SERVICES IN KIND ARE LIABLE TO IMPRISONMENT UP TO 2 YEARS.

Another problem is SERVICE RENDERED BY THE CITIZENS IN SPECIALIZED UNITS AND IN ENTERPRISES OR LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE FORMATIONS. Persons possessing organizational and mobilization assignments may be called up for that service at any time, and shirking that duty is punishable in accordance with regulations affecting active service soldiers in case of mobilization and in wartime.

[Question] How long can martial law continue?

[Answer] There can be only one answer to this question. It is not a state which will give lasting form to the country's sociopolitical and economic life. THUS IT WILL CONTINUE AS LONG AS THE STATE'S INTERNAL SITUATION REQUIRES IT, OR, IN THE MOST GENERAL TERMS, UNTIL NORMAL CONDITIONS ARE PRESENT FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF THE WHOLE ADMINISTRATION AND OF REPRESENTATIVE BODIES. For example, it may happen that martial law will be lifted in those voivodships or those regions of the country where the situatin has improved significantly, making it possible to resume normal organized social and economic life. Anyhow, in step with the stabilization of the internal situation, restrictions on public freedoms will be diminished or lifted.

Certainly, people of good will in Poland would like for the painful martial law, forced by the aggression of the political adversary, to be as short-lived as possible.

REGIONAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS HOLD MEETINGS

Work, Party Tasks Discussed

LD282154 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] In the party organizations and echelons, the discussion arising from the need for a penetrating look at the experience of party work over the past few months is in progress.

These matters are being spoken about at meetings of the departmental and primary party organizations, at conferences of the political, social and economic aktiv, as well as during many conversations among party members.

Above all, the need is being emphasized for actions serving the consolidation of party ranks.

Over the last few days in the leading plant enterprises on the Gdansk coast, in the Lenin shipyard; in the Gdynia Paris commune shipyard, and in the northern shipyard in Gdansk, conferences have taken place of the party-economic aktiv.

The party aktiv in Gdynia and in the port of Gdansk district have held debates. The conference at the Gdansk shipyard was attended by Jan Labecki, member of the Central Committee Politburo and the first secretary of the plant committee of the shipyard, and by Tadeusz Fiszbach, first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship Committee.

Jan Labecki reported on the situation in the country, and on the current work of the Politburo.

The PZPR is confronted by the need to bring to a conclusion the renewal demanded by the workers in August. To this end it is necessary to persistently fight for matters concerning working people. For such a task honest, modest, bold and resolute people are needed. For this work it is necessary to patiently win over nonparty people, all who are guided in their behavior by love of the homeland and its needs, which are supreme.

The time has finally come for entire party organizations to start action, and not just the aktiv. This statement was expressed several times at a meeting of members of the Krakow party committee in which delegates to the ninth extraordinary congress of the party also participated.

Need To Rebuild Authority

LD282308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Excerpts] The need to implement new, responsible tasks in the period of martial law, and the need for a penetrating look at the experience of party work over the past few months, are the main themes of the discussion in party organizations and echelons.

In Nowy Sacz Voivodship, at meetings of the primary party organizations, and plenary sessions of the party echelons, it is being stated that martial law does not mean a break with the line of socialist renewal, with the contents contained in the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

In Skierniewice, during the voivodship conference of the political and socioeconomic aktiv, it was stressed that an important task of the basic links of the party is the search for, and broadening of, platforms for accord with nonparty people, with members of the political parties, and with all those forces who have the good of the socialist homeland at heart.

In the plant enterprises of the Gdansk coast -- the Lenin shipyard, the Gdynia Paris commune shipyard, and the northern shipyard in Gdansk -- successive conferences of the party-economic aktiv have taken place over the last few days.

Participants in the conferences expressed the opinion that the sociopolitical and economic situation on the coast is still difficult. In connection with this, the party organizations, all party members and all people who are interested in normalization, calm, and improving the situation in the country, are confronted by important tasks. It is a question of creating an atmosphere of good work, trust, and of eliminating the divisions and prejudices among the workforces. It is necessary to reinstate the community's trust in the party and to reconstruct its strength and authority.

During the conference in the Gdansk shipyard, Jan Labecki, stated that martial law was introduced in order to protect the country and the nation from the incalculable consequences which were arising from the plans of political opponents, and not -- as some state -- for the defense of the party. The PZPR is confronted by the need to bring to a conclusion the renewal demanded by the workers in August.

Jan Labecki also reported on the situation in the country and on the current work of the Central Committee Politburo.

PROPOSALS TO ESTABLISH PARTY REGIONS REPORTED

LD282322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] In Rzeszow Voivodship proposals have been made to set up so-called regions of party work, which would ensure contact between voivodship party authorities and regional organizations, the participation of party committees in projects resulting from current needs and an essential role for those committees in fulfilling information functions in work enterprises. Their main task will be to clarify the causes and purpose of martial law and to carry out activities serving the maintenance of law and order.

Organizational work in connection with the establishment of party groups and teams in work enterprises responsible for social and living condition affairs is nearing completion. Activists of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and trade unions, the functioning of which has been temporarily suspended, are also being included in the groups.

During a meeting of the members of the Krakow party committee, which was attended by delegations to the ninth extraordinary congress, it was pointed out that there is a need for a penetrating look into the decisions of the ninth congress as the main platform for all organizational activities of the party. It was said that that is the main condition for making the party credible and for increasing its authority. It was stressed that the party's authority can be enhanced through the political and vocational attitudes of PZPR members and activists.

SOLIDARITY MEMBER URGES RESPECT FOR MARTIAL LAW

LD282044 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Dec 81

["Text" of statement by Tadeusz Lipiec, chairman of the Solidarity Works Commission of the Walter engineering works in Radom -- read by announcer]

[Text] When in August 1980 the free trade unions came into being as an organization whose aim was the defense of the interests of the worker, I joined it with great eagerness as the authentic Solidarity of working people.

Without hesitating I also expressed my agreement to take on the function of the chairman of the Works Commission. Work for the Walter community gave me pleasure. From the very beginning proper union work was set in motion, thanks to the involvement of colleagues, men and women.

At a certain moment, however, I ascertained a divergence between the action of the Works Commission and that of the regional board. We were proceeding consistently in the direction of typical union work, whereas the regional board was beginning to be guided by political arguments.

Many times I tried -- I personally and colleagues from the Factory Workers' Committee -- to restrict these impulses. The result of our consistently continued path in the union movement was the isolation of the Walter organization, which led to a situation whereby the largest organization of the region was not represented on the regional board.

I state that both myself and all of our works solidarity had been standing, as a result of the ill-considered actions of regional activists, on ground doomed to be lost. Walter was needed only when a strike was necessary for then numbers counted. Here I must bring into relief the enormous awareness of working people from the metal works.

The regional board welcomed everything which ill served the workers' cause. In my work I decisively cut myself off from the movements bearing the mark of political activity. I drew attention to the fact that linking Solidarity with the Confederation for an Independent Poland and Workers Defense Committee was leading to no good; that we should not share a path with people whose intentions we do not know; that declarations are not important but concrete actions and deeds. These, as we know deviated considerably from the union movement.

Our words, however, fell into empty space. With great distaste I reacted to the speeches by the National Commission members and regional chairmen at the session in Radom. I expected something else from people placed on a pedestal. If I have anything at all to reproach myself for then it is probably the fact that I did not take the trouble to draw at that moment the correct conclusions. I only reacted blindly to the facts and these facts led to the single need of the moment: the introduction of martial law.

I consider this law, after weighing up all the pros and cons, to be a necessity, which allows us to cherish hope for a better tomorrow. In such conclusion I am certainly not isolated. I had spoken aloud much earlier of the need for a strong hand. My task, and the community's, is to give evidence of civic responsibility and to strive to normalize the situation.

At the present we must (?make the) effort and rally around the program of General Jaruzelski. We must simply help that man, seeing in the program of the Military Council of National Salvation a guarantee for the return of stabilization.

I appeal to union members and working people, both in my parent organization Walter and outside it, to respect the regulations of martial law. I ask my colleagues not to get carried away by their emotions. I appeal for prudence and fraternal love, so needed by all of us these days.

REPORTAGE OF REGIONAL WORK RESUMPTION SITUATION

Situation at Ziemowit, Piast

LD281400 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Jerzy Ciurlok report from Katowice]

[Text] Workforces of most industrial plants in Katowice Voivodship spent the holidays with their families and friends. However, all those employed in places where there is continuous production were at work. Employees of the special services were also on duty.

On 27 December, 100,000 tons of coal were loaded onto transportation wagons. The coal came from dumps because there was no extraction at the mines during the holidays. Maintenance crews worked [words indistinct]. For today, the mines have ordered wagons for the loading of 422,000 tons of coal.

Coal extraction has resumed at the Ziemowit colliery. About 2,300 persons have begun work. Transportation wagons for 16,000 tons of coal have been ordered for the mine for today.

Miners at the Piast mine continue to be detained below. Acts of brutal terror by Solidarity extremists are becoming increasingly frequent. The people who have been underground for 2 weeks are cut off from all honest information, as it emerges from those who have managed to come to the surface. Those still below believe that it is prison at best that awaits them once they come up. Those still below are not in a position to do much to oppose the fate that has been prepared for them by the Solidarity terrorists.

According to what information the mine management has been able to ascertain, 900 miners from the Piast mine still remain below; 56 miners came to the surface this morning.

The Katowice steel plant is working normally. Systems in all sections have begun functioning, and the process for coming to full production capacity has begun.

Protest Committee Disbands

LD281916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] At 1800 the Protest Committee in the Piast colliery disbanded itself. Miners are coming to the surface gradually in groups.

The Ministry of Mining and Energy informs that tomorrow on first shift the workforce of the Piast coal mine will begin work. All transportation facilities which carry miners to work will be operating normally. The Piast colliery workers have been ordered to report for work tomorrow.

All Piast Miners on Surface

LD281930 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, here is last minute news: The situation at the Piast mine has been resolved. As of virtually a dozen or so minutes ago all the miners have come up to the surface and are going to their families. This is all we know at the moment. We shall try to give you more details in the third edition of our bulletin.

Miners Told To Report for Work

LD281138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] As we have already reported, today at 1800 a Protest Committee at the Piast mine dissolved itself.

In a telephone conversation held with the chief engineer of the mine Zygmunt (Skmina), we were informed that at 1830 one of the members of the Protest Committee informed the management of the mine that the miners would come up. Immediately a health unit was prepared: 12 doctors and nurses. By 1930 all of the miners imprisoned underground for 15 days came up to the surface. There were 939 of them. They immediately underwent a health examination. Nobody so far, as reported by the chief engineer of the mine, has required hospitalization. The miners received a meal produced in accordance with doctor's instruction suitable for people suffering from exhaustion.

According to the information released by Ministry of Mining and Power, tomorrow normal work is to start with the first shift. People will be transported just as on any normal day.

In connection with the above the management of the mine is asking department heads to report for work. The Ministry of Mining and Power reminds the employees of the Piast mine that they have a duty to report tomorrow to their work stations.

Shipyards Resume Work

LD281704 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] As our Gdansk correspondent reports, the workforces began to work normally today in many of the shipyards in both Gdansk and Gdynia. The conditions were exceptional, so they began almost everywhere by clearing away the snow. On the first shift at the Heroes of Westerplatte shipyard in Gdansk, some employees concerned themselves with cleaning the slipways, quays and access roads; the others began tasks in the hull, fitting and auxiliary sections. Among other things, fitting work is going on on two supertrawlers -- B-407, set aside for the owners of the Gdynia "Dalmor," and the Szczecin "Gryf." The (?cables) are being tested on the former before the ship goes out to sea. A variety of things, including installations and fitting systems is continuing on the other.

In view of the restrictions on electricity and materials and because of the snow, only 1/2 of the Gdansk repair shipyard's workforce was employed today. However, over 60 percent of the workers came to work.

Repair work is being carried out on 31 ships belonging to both domestic and foreign shipowners. Following a general overhaul, the oceangoing factory ship "Pomorze" will leave the shipyard today. A sulphur-carrier, the "Tarnobrzeg," will leave tomorrow with the tugboat "Neptunia." These ships will set off on a trial sea voyage and will then go to their home ports.

Sections of the Paris commune shipyard in Gdnia also began work today. Here, too, things began with clearing away the snow; technical work has not begun until 0900.

Lenin Shipyard To Resume Work

LD291058 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 0000 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] Follwoing a holiday break of more than a week, which was announced by the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering, tri-city [Gdansk, Sopot, Gdynia] shipyard workers resumed work yesterday.

Shipyard workers of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk will commence work a few days late, on 4 January, due to the need to ensure an adequate quantity of materials for further production and the appropriate work preparations.

Warski Shipyard To Resume Work

LD281646 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Marek Borowiec report from Szczecin]

[Excerpts] As in other parts of the country only maintenance crews worked at the majority of plants and enterprises in the Western Pomerania region during the Christmas holdiays. The payment of advance wages for December 1981, which was interrupted during the Christmas holidays, has resumed at the Szczecin Warski shipyard. In accordance with a previous decision, this enterprise -- the greatest industrial plant in the Western Pomerania region -- will resume normal work on 4 January 1982.

Output Figures for Steelworks

LD282048 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] The Lenin steelworks [in Krakow] performed its tasks over Christmas almost as usual; some departments even exceeded normal output. Today, 7,129 tons of pig iron, 6,103 tons of coke, 10,120 tons of steel, and 5,551 tons of sheet metal were produced. The Zgniaticz rolling mill and [word indistinct] have begun working particularly well. In recent days 10,000 to 15,000 tons of manufactured goods left the steelworks. However, there is a shortage of coke for large furnaces and also goods wagons for readymade goods.

Raw Materials Shortages

LD281844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Excerpts] All the plant enterprises in the Piotrkow Voivodship worked normally today, our correspondent reports from Piotrkow Trybunalski. However, in many of them there are serious shortages of raw materials. Coal is particularly short in the synthetic fibers plant in Tomaszow Mazowiecki. Some plants are already reporting the completion of the year's tasks. The Hortensja glass foundry in Piotrkow Trybunalski, the foundry in Radomsko, the Opoczno ceramic tiles factory, and the construction materials plant in (Zlociny) have sent in such reports.

Starting-up work is being carried on continuously on the first power unit of the Belchatow power station. Tomorrow, barring unforeseen events, the synchronization of the turbo-generator with the national electricity grid will begin.

In the period during which martial law has been in force, the number of crimes committed in the Voivodship of Piotrkow Trybunalski has fallen to as little as 25 percent of the previous number. Up to 27 December, no assaults, robberies or serious break-ins had been recorded.

REPORTAGE ON ARRESTS, TRIALS UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Katowice Strike Leaders Held

LD282344 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Further summary proceedings have been undertaken by the military and general prosecutor's offices in the last 5 days against perpetrators of crimes particularly dangerous for state security, breaking public law and order and breaching citizens' rights.

Stanislaw Momot, press spokesman of the General Prosecutor's Office, reports that above all misdemeanors of a criminal character have been the subject of penal proceedings undertaken in this period but that there have also been among them offenses against the martial law, although they are much less frequent than previously, such as antistate actions or deeds aimed against allinaces or the legal order.

Among others, the following people have been arrested: Zbigniew (Paumor), Jan Legut, Zbigniew Sobolewski, Wladyslaw Rosicki, Piotr Goralski, Herbert Renet and Wojciech Marusinski. All are charged with having continued trade union activities, organizing a sit-in at the Katowice steelworks and leading this strike, by which they impeded normal work, and with having caused serious damage to equipment and production.

Zdzislaw Gnys is charged with having caused death by strangulation of Anna W. in Tarnobrzeg and attempted assassination of her sister whom he stabbed four times. The perpetrator, entered the sisters' apartment with the intention of commiting burglary; when noticed, he allegedly committed the crimes.

Krzysztof Cyranowski, previously convicted of theft and causing a road accident, is charged with having assaulted a woman with a knife and with having robbed her of money and jewellery worth Z40,000 and having actually cause her grievous bodily harm.

Stanislaw Lukomski, manager of a trade department dealing in industrial goods and foodstuffs of the peasant self-aid cooperative in Miedzyrzec Podlaski, is charged with selling directly from the warehouse 31 sheepskin coats worth Z926,000, which were earmarked for retail sale.

Adam Jurkiewicz and Alfred Zaglow, both unemployed, as well as Edward Kolodziejski and Norbert Okos are all charged with bulglary, perpetrated together with 5 juveniles, from 11 railroad wagons and theft of goods worth Z103,000. Adam Jurkiewicz is also suspected of breaking into a wagon and stealing 19 food parcels coming from the FRG.

Wieslaw Ozarowski, who has a previous conviction, is charged with having assaulted two soldiers of the Polish Army on patrol duties.

The General Prosecutor's Office applied temporary arrest most frequently in cases involving burglary or assault against soldiers of the Polish Army as well as functionaries of the Citizens' Militia while performing their duties or obstruction of their legal duties.

The Military Prosecutor's Offices ordered the arrest, among others, of the following:

Jan Wielgus, a member of the plant commission of the NSZZ Solidarity at the Wujek colliery, is charged with having organized a strike at this colliery and having led it, and Adam Skwira, secretary of the plant commission of the NSZZ Solidarity at the Wujek colliery, is charged with having organized and led the strike as well as with having organized actions aimed against the forces of law and order.

Eugeniusz Krystian, Adam Opolski, Miroslaw Stroczynski, and Czeslaw Czarnynoga, members of the NSZZ Solidarity, are all charged with having organized and led the strike at the Ziemowit colliery. Adam Opolski is further charged with having participated in rendering this colliery's shaft inoperative.

Marek Trojanowski is charged with illegal possession of a rifle and ammunition.

Prosecutors continue to explain to workforces of plants and other enterprises the contents and meaning of martial law regulations and the resulting restrictions.

The Ministry of Justice has informed us that two verdicts were pronounced today under summary proceedings:

The Nowy Sacz Voivodship Court, after having heard under summary proceedings the case of the accused Mieczyslaw Pawlik, sentenced him on the basis of article 210, paragraph 1, of the penal code and article 36, paragraph 3 of the penal code, to 6 years imprisonment and a fine of Z15,000 with the loss of civil rights for 3 years for having robbed Stanislaw Cala in Nowy Targ on 18 December of Z2,160 and an overcoat.

The Zielona Gora Voivodship Court, after having heard under summary proceedings the case of the accused Bogdan Krawczynski, sentenced him under the provisions of article 208 of the penal code and article 36, paragraph 3, of the penal code, to 5 years' imprisonment and a fine of Z10,000 with the loss of civil rights for 3 years for having broken into a grocery shop on 13 December and having stolen foodstuffs, wine, chocolate and cigarettes worth Z2,100.

TU Official on Trial in CSSR

LD202042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Dec 81

[Excerpts] On 19 October this year, Czechoslovak Border Guards arrested Andrzej Kolokziej on the Czechoslovak-FRG frontier during an attempted illegal crossing. He is a former chairman of the Strike Committee at the Paris commune shipyard in Gdynia and deputy chairman of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] in Gdansk.

We have received a recording of the explanation given by Andrzej Kolodziej to Czechoslovak officials concerning his political activity, his function and role in Solidarity and some aspects of the activity of the union and its plans for the future.

During the periods preceding nationwide strike actions organized by NSZZ Solidarity, Andrzej Kolodziej had been active in carrying out observations of airfields, military units and the headquarters of the Citizens' Militia. Information gathered was passed to the national leadership of Solidarity.

In his public statements made on the forum of the national leadership of NSZZ Solidarity he severely criticized the present sociopolitical system in Poland. He has always been a supporter of the idea of its overthrwo by Solidarity. As an example of Koldoziej's irresponsible attitude, let us cite an instruction for MKZ Suwalki issued on 3 February 1981, recommending them to immediately call a strike in their region should the administration start any action aimed against the union; in his opinion, Western broadcasting stations and Radio Free Europe should immediately be informed about such actions.

Andrzej Kolodziej will be tried in Czechoslovakia.

Indictments Announced

LD232130 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Communique from the Prosecutor General's Office]

[Excerpts] The General and Military Prosecutors' Offices are conducting activity which is aimed at increasing the protection of the fundamental interests of the state and the citizens in the conditions of martial law. Prosecution of the perpetrators of deeds which are particularly dangerous to the interests of the state, infringe public order and harm the interests of citizens in continuing. More indictments have been submitted to military district courts and voivodship courts.

Among them, the military prosecutors have indicted: Grzegorz Ksaiszczak, student of the Wroclaw Polytechnic, member of NSZZ Solidarity, accusing him of disseminating information calling for, among other things, the publication of leaflets, the founding of residents' resistance committees and the painting of hostile slogans; Janusz Kunat, employee at the Lower Silesian regional office of Solidarity, accused of handing a member of a military patrol a leaflet calling for a strike. This was done in order to spread false information which could cause public anxiety. Apart from that, Kunat transported and kept illegal publicatons at home. Mieczysalw Ustasiak, deputy chairman of the Solidarity Pomarze Zachodnie region, senior research assistant at Szczecin Polytechnic, and eight other people, are accused of organizing a sit-in strike at the Warski shipyard in Szczecin and publishing an appeal calling on other work enterprises to strike and not to obey the orders of the authorities.

The General Prosecutors Offices have submitted to the voivodship courts indictments against, among others, Janusz Buguslaw Gozdowski, employee of the railway station in Lowicz and two other employees of this station, accusing them that while drunk they attacked a functionary of the prison service, injuring him. Mieczyslaw Pawlik, a recidivist, has been accused or robbery in Nowy Sacz Voivodship.

During the past 24 hours, the military prosecutors have submitted for summary trial indictment against 26 people, and general prosecutors against 22 people. More summary proceedings have been instituted, and in their course the following, among others, have been arrested:

In Bialystok, Zygmunt Kuzma, accused of physically attacking a soldier of the Polish Armed Forces who, while performing his duties, pointed out his misbehavior in a queue for alcohol; in Bydgoszcz, Witold Mikolajczak, who is accused of physically attacking, while drunk, a commander of a military patrol whom he hit in the face while his identity papers were being checked. In Katowice, Andrzeu Sluzalec, secretary of the Solidarity Works Committee at the small capacity factory in Tychy who has been accused of organizing and directing a strike at this factory; in Piotrkow Trybunalski, Jan Gawlik, Teodor Chmielewski, Andrzej Wrazlak and Pawel Stramski, who have been accused of breaking into a parish in Radom and stealing food and clothing worth about Z10,000 sent as gifts from Holland; in Cieszyn, Grzegorz (Woszczuk), unemployed and [name indistinct], accused of the theft of goods worth Z10,000; in Warsaw, Eugeniusz Bocinski, accused of robbery; in Suwalki, Bozena Maria Mrozienkiewicz, press spokesman of Solidarity, Pojezierze region board, accused of issuing an appeal calling for a general strike.

On 22 December, in summary trials, sentences were passed in the following cases: the Czestochowa Voivodship Court sentenced Witold Strak to 3 years imprisonment and deprivation of civic rights for 2 years after he was found guilty of organizing a strike. The same court passed an identical sentence on Teresa Staniewska who was found guilty of continuing trade union activity and organizing a strike.

The Slupsk Voivodship Court sentenced Grzegorz Glapinski to 3 years imprisonment, Z10,000 fine and deprivation of civic rights for 2 years for attempting to break into a Spolem cooperative shop.

Penal proceedings are continuing in respect of crimes committed before 13 December. Among others, the regional prosecutor's office in Lezajsk has submitted to the Rzeszow Voivodship Court in indictment against Egeniusz Kowalczyk, former chairman of an agricultural production cooperative in Debno, who is accused of embezzling Z296,000 and causing damage amounting to Z7 million.

Prosecution Organ's Activities

LD241018 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 0900 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] The press spokesman of the General Prosecutor's Office reports:

The organs of civil and military prosecution are engaged in activites designed to ensure increased protection for the basic interests of the state and citizens under martial law conditions.

More indictments have been sent to regional military and voivodship courts. The military prosecutors have charged Mieczyslaw Ustasiak, deputy chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity Executive of Western Pomorze and lecturer at the Szczecin Technical University, and eight other persons who are accused of having organized a sit-in strike in the Warski shipyards in Szczecin and having published an appeal urging other enterprises to strike and to disobey the decisions made by the authorities.

Janusz Kunat, employee of the NSZZ Solidarity Executive of Lower Silesia, is charged with aiming to disseminate false news, which could bring about public unrest, and having handed to a member of a military patrol a leaflet urging strike action. In addition, he carried and stored at home illegal publications.

The Civil Office of the prosecutor's offices of the Polish People's Republic has sent to voivodship courts indictments against Mieczyslaw Pawlik, a notorious recidivist, accused or robbing a citizen in Nowy Sacz Voivodship of money and clothes.

The military prosecutors have recently issued indictments against 26 persons, and civil prosecutors have issued indictments against 22 persons.

More penal summary proceedings have been started. In the course of these the following arrests were made: in Piotrkow Trybunalski, Jan Gawlik, Teodor Chmielewski, Andrzej Wrazlak and Pawel Stramski, charged with breaking into the Roman Catholic parish in Radom and stealing food and clothing sent as gifts from Holland.

In Cieszyn: Grzegorz Woszczuk, unemployed, and Krzysztof Zablocki, proprietor of a crafts enterprise, charged with breaking into a private house and stealing gold items, jewelry and hard currency with the overall value of some Z10 million.

In Warsaw, Eugeniusz Bocinski, charged with robbery and using of a knife against a woman passerby.

The prosecution organs continue penal proceedings for offenses committed before 13 December. The Lezajsk Regional Prosecution Office has sent to the Rzeszdw Voivodship Court an indictment against Eugeniusz Kowalczyk, former chairman of the agricultural producer cooperative "Jutrzenka" in Debno, charged with the embezzlement from the cooperative of Z296,000 and having caused losses, as a result of various actions, amounting to Z7 million.

Rurarz Indictment Asked

LD281740 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Minister's application to initiate penal proceedings against Zdzislaw Rurarz, until recently Polish ambassador to Japan, in connection with his commission of crimes under articles 122 and 130 of the penal code and striking at the fundamental interests of the state, was sent today to the supreme military prosecutor.

COMMENTARIES ON REAGAN, SOLIDARITY, MARTIAL LAW

PAP on Reagan Speech

LD282008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Dec 81

["Summary" of PAP commentary on President Reagan's Christmas message on Poland].

[Text] Numerous statesmen and governments in the capitalist world have reacted to the martial law in Poland. They have expressed considerable anxiety, concern and misgivings about the fate of the interrupted process of democratic transformations.

The reaction is fully justified by the exceptional situation. The televised Christmas message from President Reagan to the American people was delivered in a tone unworthy of his post. Its form and content are astounding. It is full of invective and abuse like a gutter paper addressed to the highest authorities of the Polish Republic.

Poland is not the 51st state of the United States. The main cause of the attitude of the President is disappointment that Poland will remain in the family of socialist states and that again certain hopes have not been fulfilled. If one would try, even in abbreviated version, to list cases of the postwar Washington administration trampling on human rights in their own country and abroad, President Reagan's message could not be large enough to contain these, despite the fact that it is a text of considerable size.

As it happens the United States does not belong to those states which have the right to moralize. Helsinki, to which the President refers, does not order the trampling of the constitutional order in any country, including Poland. If temporary internment or arrest means the formation of concentration camps to the President, one can only explain that by the influence exerted on the President by the traitor, former Ambassador Spasowski. The President seems not only unilaterally informed about the situation in Poland and about the sources of the most tragic phase of our crisis but also he seems to be unilaterally informed about the reaction of Western world to events in Poland.

It is not quite clear what entitles him to prejudge the attitude of the West, while he is only entitled to speak on behalf of his country. There were also malice and insinuations addressed to the Soviet Union in his speech.

The President of the United States verbally declared his friendly attitude toward the Polish people but in the same breath he declared in fact the economic boycott of Poland. He assured that the steps which he has taken are firm, correct and prudent. One can question the correctness and consideration of an economic boycott and the empty assurance that these steps are not directed against the Polish people.

Paper on Solidarity Strategy

LD282214 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 28 Dec 81

["Who Was To Fight Against Socialism and How" -- PAP headline; quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Dec (PAP) -- The party daily TRYBUNA LUDU once again reverts to the materials found in the headquarters of Solidarnosc "Mazowsze" chapter immediately after the imposition of martial law. Many of them, revealing plans and activity of "Mazowsze" region, were discussed earlier, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote.

"Much more dangerous, even sinister documents have been found in "Mazowsze" materials. For instance, strategic plans of the pattern of forces and success of struggle were drawn up. It was estimated with the feeling of self-confidence and arrogance concerning the pseudo-workers' slogans propagated by Solidarnosc that the authorities could assign only 100-120 thousand people of law enforcement and military forces for operational tasks. That number was to be opposed by 200-300 thousand of appropriately equipped and prepared union members, those who are ready for anything, coming from either illegal political groups or groups of indoctrinated people. It was them who, when given a signal, were to dislodge party cells from industrial plants, to dispose of legal organs of the authorities in those plants, in their places of residence, in people's councils. Ironically enough, they were called 'worker guards' by the opposition leaders, a guard which in fact was composed of fighting squads at the disposal of Solidarnsoc plant commissions and regional headquarters of that union.

The 'worker guards' could have been used anytime by irresponsible chairman of Solidarnosc 'Mazowsze' regional commission, Zbigniew Bujak. However, workers were not used against workers. The plans prepared in Mokotowska street have been frustrated, forever", TRYBUNA LUDU concluded.

Moral Integrity Stressed

LD241332 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] In an article entitled: For Truth and Credibility, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI quoted from declarations made by some Solidarity leaders at the formative stages that organization, and statements made a year later. Among others, Lech Walesa is quoted. In 1980 he said: I can say with satisfaction that we have ended our feud without resorting to force, through talks and persuasion. We have demonstrated that Poles, if they want to, can always come to an agreement.

The very same Walesa said in December 1981: Let us have no illusions. From the very outset it was cocking a snoot. And I knew it very well. Of course I did not talk about it, as I wanted to play [the game]. Confrontation is unavoidable and there is going to be a confrontation.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI quotes many other examples illustrating the thesis that some Solidarity leaders have been breaking, rejecting -- and in fact have been holding in contempt -- definite moral principles which were laid down in the ten commandments thousands of years ago, and by which quite rightly we assess the integrity of every man right up to today.

One should mention that in Polish political life, as long as it lasts, ethics have always played a great part -- and that it definitely deserved it. Poland has never violated any treaty or other agreement. Col Eugeniusz Banaszczyk, author of the article, formulates the following reflection: For us contemporary Poles, treachery must always remain alien if we want to presserve our national identity and credibility, first of all toward ourselves.

Appeal for Calm

LD241224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Excerpts] The Christmas issues of newspapers carry articles referring to the most important issues of the home, family, state and homeland. ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, for example, remarks in its editorial:

In accordance with an old popular custom, the gesture of sharing bread on Christmas eve is an expression of good will, of purity of intentions, of well-wishing frankness that resolves accumulated family feuds and misunderstandings. May lack of trust, anxiety and suspicion, which have been deceitfully introduced into the common home of the fatherland be overcome in this way. We must restore calm to homes and a feeling of safety and normalcy to the fatherland. This depends on us alone.

Reaction Moving 'Underground'

LD241322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] According to research into KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] archives, TRYBUNA LUDU points out that this organization -- as the daily puts it in the headline -- functioned on the keep from foreign intelligence services.

The same problem is tackled by ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in an article headlined: On the Tracks of the KPN -- An Evil Symbiosis. To begin, the daily states: The struggle against counterrevolution for law, order and security of the country which constitutes a sine qua non condition for leading Poland out of the difficult situation, is currently entering the decisive stage. Survivors from Solidarity's extreme faction, as well as elements from subversive groups which missed being interned, are again making their ranks cohesive. Signs multiply pointing to the fact that reaction is going underground.

Colonel Jan Sokol is the author of this article.

Proper Behavior Will Rid Unrest

LD251438 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1305 GMT 25 Dec 81

[From review of the regional press]

[Text] An article in GAZETA KRAKOWSKA is entitled "History Will Judge."

Although we continue to sit on the edge of the abyss, the country continues to exist. Poland exists and it must exist. What will it be like in 5 or 10 years? It will be intolerable if we transfer today's unrest and state of tension, its domestic turmoil and group disputes and divisions to the future. Thus what is needed above all is moderation and commonsense in every judgement.

Thousands of decisions are being made today: Some relate to mechanisms and processes, but all of them relate in the main to people. As we often say, history will judge them. But it is we who, by our own decisions help history to write verdicts.

How then should one behave to prevent history from making mistakes and proving either too harsh or too lenient? One can, as some are doing already, flaunt one's omniscience and repeat; didn't I tell you so? One can make of one's suppositions, errors and personal resentments a base from which to make general judgments. One can settle accounts, not only with the ideological opponent, but also with those who have stymied ambition. Then it becomes easy to transform the settling of accounts into the settling of scores, which is a far cry from the canon of political and social thought. This is not a list of anticipated behavior of various groups and persons in a situation as difficult as the present one. At the moment such behavior is fortunately not seen on a very large scale. But the danger of nearsightedness can manifest itself in such activities as settling accounts and the taking of reprisals. The consequences can only cause moral losses to us all. The affair will not be just an individual one, and there will be no shortage of personal dramas against a backdrop of precipitate and exclusively opportunist assessments, but the most threatening and permanent dimension of damage and loss may relate to social thinking. There are enough sages among us who have not been able to bear the weight of events and who have moved to one side in order to add to them through hasty judgments. So to help history let us suppress all the mean-minded impulses within us. Let us find within ourseles, and seek in others, those traits and values that can become the fabric of construction and not of destruction that bring out of individuals and groups the things that are most valuable, that link people rather than divide them.

This tone, so clearly discernible in the words of General Jaruzelski, is the note of hope in times that are difficult for all. Consistency in view is not tantamount to inflexibility. When reason sleeps, the ghosts come alive.

Need Seen To Change Management

LD281012 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0633 GMT 28 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] The prospects for the economic reform in conditions of martial law are the subject of an article in TRYBUNA LUDU, in the title of which there stands the following sentence in bold script: THIS PERIOD MUST BE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF. Let us quote the final conclusions: The period of martial law is conducive for clearing the approaches to reform. Preparations and adding the final touches should be undertaken. The main thing is that the principles governing the economic policies of the state should be worked out, and that in the context of these principles, the program for overcoming the crisis should be amended. Those solutions in the reform package which need polishing, should be polished. The point is that the structures of management should be changed. The martial law conditions are favorable, notes the author, for carrying out such cadre changes which will be conducive for the reform and which will make it easier to implement the reform.

Thus, the point is that incompetent people thinking in old categories and who are incapable or unwilling to switch to a new style of activity, who are opposed to the reform or who want to line their own pockets from all this, should be removed from having a way on economic decisions.

Thus, martial law must be taken advantage of to dismantle the brakes on democratic changes.

Restoration of Union Activity

LD281018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0633 GMT 28 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU deals with the decision to suspend the activities of the trade unions which, as you are aware, has encompassed all trends of the trade union movements. TRYBUNA LUDU interviewed (Konstanty Golik), chairman of the main board of the trade union of municipal and local economy workers, about, among other things, the future principles governing the functioning of his union. (Konstanty Golik) said in reply to a question on how he imagines the resumption of activities and where, in his view, we have to start: We shall conform, of course, to some sort of general formula which restores trade union activities. I personally think the passing of a statute on trade unions should be the key to the matter. The obtaining of an elementary normalization of life in the country, the extinguishing of flashpoints of unrest in factories, and the statute are in my view, continues the chairman of the main board of the trade union of municipal and local economy workers, the foundation for reactivating the union. This would be a statute recognized by the whole trade union movement and by the administration as a hard and fast rule. We shall begin with this as soon as we are able, namely with our daily ordinary trade union work, which is perhaps not effective but necessary for people and which is in accordance with our statute.

Spasowski Defection Examined

LD281304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1120 GMT 28 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] The author of a TRYBUNA LUDU commentary entitled: "Two Faces of Treachery" refers to what he terms the unheard of propoganda blackmail that accompanied the flight of the former Polish diplomat Romualo Spasowski when he appealed for political asylum to the American authorities. The paper recalls the false information passed on by Spasowski during a press conference in Washington, which related to the situation in Poland. Further on in the commentary, the author views the personal reception Spasowski received at the White House by President Reagan and other high American officials. The author then quotes the account of an AP correspondent on this subject: This meeting crowned an enormous propaganda success for the Reagan Administration, which made no secret of its delight over the desertion of Spasowski.

It is worth recalling, concludes the commentary, that not even in the darkest and iciest years of the cold war did the heads of the American administration engage in direct personal support for people like Spasowksi.

Solidarity's Geneva 'Diplomats'

LD281448 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1308 GMT 28 Dec 81

[From the regional press review]

[Text] Here is a message from the editorial board of the TRYBUNA OPALSKA. On the occasion of a Christmas which is different than it has always been, the message wished its readers healthy days and ended with a maxim that is very topical for all of us: Let us be thoughtful so that we will be able to celebrate more peacefully and cheerfully next year. The same TRYBUNA OPOLSKA carries the following reflection of the day on its first page:

Solidarity was to have been the general principle of the Solidarity trade union. A strange proof of it was given by the several thousand union actvists who went abroad before 13 December on money from the members' common fund. The fact that they have now assembled in Geneva and, from a safe distance, curse and swear at the Military Council of National Salvation, at General Jaruzelski, at the party and at all of those and everything that thwarted their plans of becoming the sole power in our country can even be forgiven; it is human to react with rage when dreams are not fulfilled. However, one cannot forgive them their betrayal of the 9.5 million -- as it is always stressed everywhere -- men and women union colleagues.

These gentlemen have appealed to Western countries to apply an economic embargo on Poland. What that means for the Polish economy, which depends on supplies of raw materials from the West, need not be said. The Solidarity diplomats say one ought to punish those damned communists who dared to trick us and did not allow us to become ministers. Let them be punished by dying of hunger. The fact that the 9.5 million members of Solidarity and their families would die along with those communists doesn't much worry the sole defenders and promulgators of the will of the working class.

This simply begs one to recall the anecdote about the gardener's dog who will neither eat his food nor give it to anyone else. However, it does not fully apply to this situation because the diplomats will not go hungry. They have already found patrons, and as long as they bark loudly they can count on receiving a doughnut from the master's table. They will continue to bark when they are separated from us by borders, but they will bark to a tune other than the tune of Solidarity.

PAP INTERVIEWS GENERAL OBIEDZINSKI ON ARMY DUTIES

LD281920 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Gen Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, deputy minister of national defense and chief quartermaster of the Polish Army, has given an interview to PAP. Among other things, he said that the Polish People's Army has never limited the duties of its soldiers and has aimed its efforts wherever the needs of the community demanded. Also, today when the army stands in defense of threatened people's rule and protects the nation against catastrophe, it confirms by its actions its dedication to the cause of the people and of socialism.

The participation of the army in peaceful construction, said the general, has a rich tradition which extends back to the time of the fatherland's liberation from German occupation. As time passed, the participation of servicemen in work for the country has become even greater due to the army's modernization. There are practically no significant projects in which soldiers will not participate. A special chapter in the army's work for the country is the soldiers deeds in Warsaw. With the support of the army, for example, a new bridge named after General Grot-Rowecki has been constructed across the Vistula recently.

The participation of the army in scientific development has been growing systematically through the use of the most modern achievements of the armed forces' scientists in the economy. The military health service has made specialized hospitals and clinics accessible to civilian patients. This year, about 37,000 civilian patients made use of military facilities. The army is also a very important link in the educational front, in vocational training for cadres and is the cocreator of national culture.

Today, meeting servicemen of the Polish Army on the frontline of leading the country out of the crisis, General Obiedzinski said in conclusion, let us remember that as on land, sea and in the air, soldiers also are fulfilling their duty in restoring law and order in our social life, in accordance with the commands of their military oath which comes from the best patriotic traditions and from allegiance to socialist ideals.

AIR FLIGHTS, SUPPLIES, ENERGY SITUATION REPORTED

LOT Flight Details

LD282120 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] The Polish airline LOT informs us that the following charter flights will take place on 29, 30 and 31 December:

On Tuesday 29 December a flight to Montreal at 1000; on Wednesday 30 December a flight to London at 0800 and to Kiev at 2100 for employees of Energopol; on Thursday 31 December a flight to Paris at 0835, to Malta at 0900 for workers of Dromex, to Zurich at 0930, to Montreal at 1000, to Tripoli at 1135, to Moscow at 1625, and to Damascus at 2200 a flight for workers of the Krakow industrial construction association.

These flights are exclusively earmarked for transportation of foreigners and Poles traveling on official business and for bringing Polish citizens from the forementioned airports. All passengers are requested to report at customs and passport control at Okecie Airport 2 hours before the intended takeoff.

Tickets may be purchased and places reserved at LOT cashier desks on Warynski Street and at the airport.

These flight times may be changed.

Meat, Butter Rations Cut

LD271944 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] The Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services has announced that in accordance with the earlier decisions of the Council of Ministers new rationing cards have been prepared for meat and butter supplies to the population in January 1982. The norms set were lower than those in force in December 1981; only miners were to receive the same amounts of the rations concerned. The lower norms were based on the realistic expectations of the deliveries of meat and butter -- produced in Poland and from imports. In December 1981 supplies of these commodities matching the rationing card quotas have been ensured thanks to the additional imports especially from the Soviet Union. However, efforts have failed to gather adequate stocks of meat to cover the arrears of rations. In the last few days the procurement has increased in some voivodships; yet over the month of December as a whole procurement throughout the country has been lower by as much as 49 percent in comparison with December 1980.

Taking into account the expected continuation of the imports from the socialist countries the Military Council of National Salvation has directed that amendments be introduced to the earlier decisions of the government and that the norms at present in force be maintained in respect of all workers: In other words they will be the same as in December 1981.

However, the norms for the remaining groups of the population cannot be maintained at the December level. They will amount to 2.5 kilograms for non-manual employees, pensioners and retired people and 4 kilograms for the sick, pregnant women and adolescents aged from 13 to 18.

Any possible increase in the norms to the December level for non-manual employees, pensioners, retired people, pregnant women and adolescents will be implemented additionally if a greater procurement of domestic supplies, imports from the European Economic Community or a further increase in the imports from socialist countries are achieved in January 1982. For this purpose additional rationing cards would be then issued.

In view of the high deficit of the supplies of meat and butter the entitlement of farmers owning or using agricultural farms with an area of more than 0.5 hectare to buy rationed meat and butter has been suspended.

The sale of butter within the rationing system has been ensured for children and adolescents of up to 18 years of age, both in towns and in rural areas, at the level of norms in force at present.

Farmers who are milk suppliers are receiving the entitlement to purchase 0.25 kilograms of butter for the delivery of 100 liters of milk the amount purchased, however, must not exceed 2 kilograms per month.

The population will receive ration cards for the newly established norms by 10 January 1982.

The Military Council of National Salvation, while reaffirming again the permanent character of the principles of the agrarian policy of the state, has appealed to individual farmers and to state and cooperative agricultural farms for accelerating deliveries of fatstock, cereals, milk and other farm produce. Only an increase in these deliveries can guarantee a more abundant supply of foodstuffs for the population.

Ration Changes 'Inevitable'

LD272138 Warsaw PAP in English 2028 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Dec (PAP) -- Meat rations for some groups of the Polish population will be lower next month than in the last months of 1981, as the purchase of slaughter animals, despite picking up in recent days, was still 49 percent lower than a year ago, a communique of the Home Trade Ministry said.

Those affected are white-collar workers and pensioners, who will not get 2.5 kilos of meat per month, and sick people, pregnant women and adolescents, whose ration has been reduced to 4 kilos.

At first it looked as though the cuts would apply to all groups of the population except miners, but additional imports from socialist countries have made it possible to exempt all other manual workers as well.

Some minor changes concern butter rationing. Minister of Home Trade Zenon Komender told PAP that the changes were inevitable in order "to achieve a situation in which there is meat for coupons and not only coupons for meat."

The minister stressed that in the last months people had practically no opportunity of buying their full meant quotas, and the present cuts result from the existing supply capabilities. "This is a hard necessity of life and also the result of extremely limited imports," he said.

The potential supplies of meat, as estimated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, will amount to 108,500 tonnes a month during the first quarter of 1982, whereas, when introducing meat rationing in April this year, the Home Trade Ministry set the minimum amount of meat supplies for the system at 129,000 tonnes, and all the time the market was supported by enormous imports, the minister explained.

He went on to say that the year 1981 will close with 167,000 tonnes of meat imports, of which 137,000 tonnes will have come from capitalist countries. At present, due to a lack of the necessary hard currency reserves imports on that scale are impossible.

After the introduction of martial law there is a spark of hope for an increase in the purchase of livestock and for more opportunities of supplies from socialist countries. But all this does not allow to keep up the to-date ration quotas, underlined the minister once more.

Fall in Meat Imports Predicted

LD272124 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Statement by Witold (Pereta), director general of the meat industry center on 27 December -- live]

[Text] Mass information media have recently carried reports that the procurement of fatstock has considerably increased.

It is true that during the period of the state of martial law the procurement increased in comparison with the first few days of December.

Thus in the first 10 days of the month domestic procurement averaged 4,000 tons of meat, whereas during the period from 15 to 22 December it reached the level of 5,000 tons. Nevertheless, I would like to draw attention to the fact that during December 1981 we will have thus bought about 100,000 tons of meat, while in the similar period of 1980 we purchased 200,000 tons. The purchased 100,000 tons of meat will meet 70 percent of the requirement of the market within the rationing system and the remaining quota of meat needed by the market will have to be provided from imports.

This month we are providing from imports a total of 38,000 tons of meat, of which 30,000 tons has come from the Soviet Union and 8,000 tons from the countries of the European Economic Community. Consequently, if there had not been such a vast amount of imported meat, the market supplies of meat in December would have been very much more modest than they are at present.

As regards the coming year I must tell you with regret that the situation will be worse than this year. This results from two facts: First, we shall have considerably lower imports, and second, the output of poultry will be lower. This year we will have imported 175,000 tons of meat and 55,000 tons of fats; this is the highest level of the import of meat products in the history of Poland.

As regards 1982 the imports will amount to no more than 60,000 tons of which 50,000 tons of meat will come from the Chinese People's Republic [as heard] and 10,000 tons from the countries of the European Economic Community.

On the subject of the output of poultry I would like to stress that it is based mainly on imported feeding stuffs coming, above all, from the United States. In view of the fact that we have no currency reserves which are not already committed and because there exist difficulties in obtaining credits for the purchase of feeding stuffs there is a very serious fear that the output of poultry will be greatly limited and very much lower than in the current year. This means that the supply to the market of both poultry and meat from reduced imports will, unfortunately, be below the level of 1981.

The only way out of the difficult situation in meat supplies in the future lies, in my opinion, in the implementation of the slogan that Polish people can and should feed themselves. It seems that it will be possible to implement this slogan, first after the introduction of the economic reform and, second after the introduction of the reform of prices for all consumer goods including foodstuffs, and consequently also meat and poultry.

Soviet Meat Transloaded

LD271224 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1054 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] A dozen or so thousand persons are combating the snow. Thanks to their efforts, all railroad lines are passable. Yesterday the transloading stations at Malaszewicze and Zurawica on the border with the Soviet Union worked intensively. Among other goods, over 1,150 tons of meat were transloaded and dispatched into the interior of the country.

Arrival of Meat, Oil Products

LD251350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1305 GMT 25 Dec 81

[From the provincial press review]

[Summary] NOWINY, a local paper for the region of Krosno, Przemysl, Rzeszow and Tarnobrzeg, reports that meat and oil products continue to arrive at the Zurawica border post.

As is well known, our eastern neighbor is at present helping us a great deal by supplying us with beef and pork on a regular basis. From 18-22 December about 750 tons of meat arrvied at the Mosciska-2-Medyka Soviet-Polish border post. Three shipments of meat arrived there yesterday. During the last 2 days 6,190 tons of liquid fuels, mainly gasoline, arrived at the Zurawica oil products trading center, and about 2,500 tons of gas oil were transshipped there on Tuesday, 22 December.

More Food Aid From GDR

LD241250 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] More deliveries of goods from the GDR have arrived in Szczecin. These are mainly food items and products of the chemical industry. Yesterday, the Polish-GDR border at Kolbaskow was crossed by 18 convoys loaded with children's foodstuffs, powdered milk, detergents, toothpaste and soap. Today a barge reached Szczecin with 60 tons of potatoes and 5,000 Christmas parcels for children. This is a gift from the Free German Youth for the youngest inhabitants of Szczecin. Large consignments of eggs, margarine and fresh milk have also been sent. This has made it possible to improve appreciably Christmas supplies.

Enterprise Stocks Increase

LD281946 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Despite the decline in industrial production, stocks in enterprises have increased. According to data from the Central Office of Statistics [GUS] during the [first] three quarters of the current year the total value of stocks increased by Z54 billion to a total of Z689 billion.

Radical changes are needed in the structure of production. Industrial enterprises ought to open their warehouses wider, sharing with others the materials which they are not at present capable of processing themselves.

Energy Consumption Increases

LD272232 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Dec (PAP) -- Despite a government programme to the contrary, unit energy consumption in Polish economy increased in t he 1976-1980 period.

It had been estimated that efficient use of fuels and energy would make it possible to economize during that quinquennium some 24 million tonnes of conventional fuel but the actual change was an increase in consumption by 20 million tonnes of conventional fuel, which is equivalent to some 30 million tonnes of hard coal.

In many enterprises, notably in the metallurgical and building materials industries, the growth in energy consumption was not matched by a production growth, causing an increase of unit consumption. In one prefabrication plant, unit consumption of electric energy rose by 28 percent, heat by 41 percent, and coal by nearly 40 percent in just two years.

This unfavourable trend was blamed on [word indistinct] production processes requiring huge amounts of energy and poor maintenance of both energy generating and energy consuming installations, while the availability of spare parts and materials needed for repairs was described as "disastrous" in a report assessing the situation.

Lack of insulation and leaking pipes were commonplace. One big chemical factory lost 20 percent of its hot steam in this way.

Other factors which contributed to the growth of energy consumption were the unstable work of installations due to the chaotic availability of raw materials and cuts in electricity supply, understaffing in the utilities industries as well as deteriorating quality of coal and coke. The prime reason, however, appears to be the incorrect system of prices of fuel and energy.

Entertainment Centers Open

LD231912 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] The mayor of Warsaw has issued a directive on the authority of which some cultural and entertainment centers in the capital will resume their activity during the holiday period.

The youngest spectators are being invited by the following puppet theaters: Franszka, Baj, Guliwer and Lalka.

All the theaters, in the afternoon hours, will begin performances one hour earlier than usual, namely at 1630.

The city office also announces the reinstatement, in the holiday period, of the activity of museums, and some selected cinemas.

Increased Communications Services

LD242000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] The press spokesman of the Ministry of Communications has informed us that as of 24 December, to fulfill the needs of the socialized economy, 24-hour telex points will open in voivodship postal and telecommunications offices.

During the Christmas period, from 24 December-2 January 1982, public telephones will be in operation in order to obtain connections with special services such as the militia, fire fighters and the ambulance service.

The post and telecommunications offices No 1 in the voivodship capitals will accept and deliver -- 24 hours a day -- telegrams on "telegram" forms from individual senders and institutions. This will take place exclusively within the region of voivodship capitals.

The communications minister has also introduced a decision enabling telegrams on family matters to be sent to Polish ships. It is also possible to obtain telephone connections with these ships from the following voivodship public telephones: Szczecin, Niepodleglosci Street No 4; Koszalin, Dante Street No 22; Gdynia, 10 Lutego Street; and Gdansk, Dluga Street No 22.

The No 1 post offices in voivodship capitals accept -- 24 hours a day -- telegrams on "telegram" forms for crew members on Polish ships. The post offices will deliver telegrams from ships to addresses exclusively in the area of voivodship capitals.

Letters Containing Cash

LD251856 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] The chief censorship office in the Ministry of Internal Affairs announces that in the process of censoring it has been established that many letters contain banknotes. In this connection the office recalls that sending money in ordinary letters is contrary to postal regulations and the post office is not responsible in case of loss.

However, being concerned that censored money-containing letters from capitalist countries should reach their addresses together with their contents, the chief censorship office and the chief postal transport and exchange office have adopted measures designed to secure such letters properly. Additional securing procedure may cause delays in delivery, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs announcement.

Broadcast Frequencies Noted

LD260056 Warsaw Maritime Service in Polish 0000 GMT 26 Dec 81

[From the "For Those at Sea" program]

[Text] Now I would like to remind you when and on what wavelengths we broadcast our program:

From 2300 to 2400, on the following frequences: 7145, 9525, 9095 kilocycles per second on wavelengths 41, 31 and 49 m.

From 0100 to 0200, and from 0200 to 0300 on the following frequencies: 6135, 7270, 7145, 9525, 11815, 6095, 15120 kilocycles per second, which correspond to the wavelengths 49, 41, 31, 25 and 19 m.

From 0500 to 0600 and from 0600 to 0700, on the following frequencies: 7145, 9525, 11815, 6095, 15120 and wavelengths 41, 31, 25, 49 and 19 m.

From 1400 to 1500, on the following frequencies: 7285, 6095, 9675 and 1503 kilocycles per second on wavelengths 49, 41 and 31 m and on 200 m medium wave.

From 0100 to 0200 we broadcast our program within the framework of the central program on long wave 1322 m, which corresponds to frequency 227 kilocycles per second, and on medium wave 366.3 m, which corresponds to the frequency 819 kilocycles per second.

SOLDIERS COMMENT ON RADIO FREE EUROPE APPEAL

LD241322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Excerpts] An appeal to soldiers of the Polish People's Army was broadcast the day before yesterday by Radio Free Europe. A group of Solidarity activists in Switzerland wrote the text. It accuses the armed services inter alia of occupying their own fatherland, acting dishonorably and suppressing democracy.

Our reporter has recorded the reaction of several soldiers to this appeal. Here is what Lance Corporal (Walerys) has to say:

[Begin (Walerys) recording] I think that the term "occupation" is totally devoid of meaning. How can one speak of our own country being occupied by us soldiers? The gentlemen who wrote this text were fully aware of what they were doing. In some way, they wished to mislead us soldiers who are serving the fatherland. However, I think that all of us know what's what with regard to the situation. At the moment we have left our barracks in order to restore law and order in the country. These gentlemen spoke of democracy. Naturally, at the moment we cannot have democracy, because we have a state of martial law and civil liberties have been curtailed. But this is what we are here for: to restore full democracy. [end recording]

Senior Corporal (Bialas) says:

[Begin Bialas recording] As far as the text presented to us is concerned, it is quite an exaggeration. When we patrol the streets, civilians show a sympathetic attitude toward us. They are, in fact, very nice to us. We have had situations in which we were going through a city and older people in particular would say "good morning" to us. [end recording]

Private [name indistinct] says:

[Begin recording] I think that Radio Free Europe's statement is somewhat senseless. It seems to me that things are not like that; anyway, the people, all civilians know this. The army has surely given considerable help to civilians recently.

However, idlers, various people who have to date busied themselves with some kind of commercial activity on the side have quite simply been taken by the short hair and made to work. All of them have been made to do honest work and are being treated equally. It seems to me that the state of affairs in our country demanded that this situation be brought about. Surely no one feels he is being ill-treated.

Radio Free Europe wishes, in some way, to destroy the order and peace in the country that we want to maintain. We have been called by the people (jestesmy przez ludzi powolani), and we must ensure law, order and peace for them.

None of us here -- nor the majority of the civilian population -- is interested in what Radio Free Europe is saying about the situation in our country, since we all can see for ourselves what our everyday life is really like. We are interested, above all, in public opinion and in the prevailing atmosphere. This opinion seems favorable to me. Everyday encounters between soldiers and civilians bear witness to this. [end recording]

STUDENTS RESPOND TO APPEAL TO HELP SICK

LD241336 Warsaw International Service in English 1230 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] On the appeal of the minister of health and social welfare medical students are more and more numerously declaring their assistance in the care of the ill. Those arriving at the medical centers are being directed to various occupations depending on current abilities in the medical profession.

POZNAN VETERANS SUPPORT MARTIAL LAW ACTION

LD272226 Warsaw PAP in English 2037 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Dec (PAP) -- Today is the day of the 63rd anniversary of the Wielkopolska uprising. The 1918-1919 uprising played a tremendous role in the process of reviving the Polish statehood after 123 years of foreign occupation. It also determined the return of a large part of the former Prussian sector of partitioned Poland to its mother country.

The memory of the historic armed uprising of the inhabitants of Wielkopolska was celebrated in Poznan today. A group of veterans of the uprising met the voivodship authorities. The participants of the meeting supported the statement which said, among other things, that: "We, combatants, soldiers who fought in all fronts, resistance fighters and former prisoners of Nazi prisons, considering the imposition of martial law to be the only effective means of saving the country from a national catastrophe, and at the same time, being aware of our responsibility for the security of the state, fully support the actions taken by the Martial Council of National Redemption, for it is only in the atmosphere of order that economic reforms can be introduced and effects of the grave socio-economic crisis lightened."

NEW WORKS TO DOCUMENT 'MARTYRDOM OF NATION'

LD280007 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Dec (PAP) -- The Main Committee for Investigating Nazi Crimes in Poland is publishing presently a new work concerned with concentration camps in the Documenta Occupationis series on Nazi occupation of Poland. The committee is also embarking on a work entitled the "Martyrdom of the Polish Nation" which will be based on the research and codemental work by World War Two specialists from all over Poland. The work will present the assumptions and results of the Nazi extermination policy, and assess Poland's losses during World War Two.

Ever new information is being added to the committee's list of Nazi crimes on Polish soil. This concerns also Nazi concentration camps outside Poland and information of Polish citizens inprisoned there.

Among the research now undertaken by the main and local committees much importance is attached to Nazi crimes on Polish intelligentsia and clergy. A central register of intelligentsia losses containing the biographical information of the victims is now being compiled.

Research continues with respect to crimes on groups of population traditionally protected during military conflicts: children, women, elders and the handicapped. Work has been undertaken to explain the circumstances of the extermination of gypsies in Poland.

A special place in the research of the main and local committees is occupied by the martyrdom of Jews from Poland and other countries in ghettos, camps and extermination centers situated in Poland. One of the forthcoming volumes of the committees bulletin will deal with the Holocaust of Jews.

Further investigation is being undertaken on neo-Fascist and neo-Nazi movements.

CULTURE MINISTRY TAKES OVER UNIONS' FUNCTIONS

LD252141 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 25 Dec 81

[Text] The Ministry of Culture and Art has taken over certain work and functions of creative unions and associations whose activities have been suspended. Thanks to the offices of special plenipotentiaries of the minister, activities are being continued in the everyday material and social life of the members of these associations. The houses of creative work and social welfare and the cafeterias of these organizations which formerly operated are continuing to function. Financial and material assistance has been expanded markedly for those creative persons and their families who are most in need of such assistance.

OBIEDZINSKI DISCUSSES AID WITH BULGARIAN ENVOY

LD290348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 29 Dec 81

[Text] Issues connected with the fraternal assistance rendered by the Bulgarian people were the subject of a meeting between Gen Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, deputy minister for national defense and chairman of the team for distribution of gifts from socialist countries, and Ivan Nedev, ambassador of the Bulgarian People's Republic of Poland.

FOREIGN MEDIA ON CURRENT INTERNAL SITUATION

Walesa on Hunger Strike

LD281835 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 28 Dec 81

[28 December interview of Jakub Swiecicki, Solidarity's spokesman in Sweden, by Goran Skaansberg, both speaking in Swedish; place not given -- live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Question] Can you comment on a report we broadcast in today's lunchtime radio magazine that Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa is on a hunger stirke? Our informant said that he had heard it from a certain source. Have you received any reports from other quarters to confirm that Walesa is on a hunger strike?

[Answer] Yes, we have had reports about it from several different quarters which we regard as certain, that he is on hunger stirke, has been for at least 4 days.

[Question] Another report over the weekend maintains that the two arrested civil rights campaigners and Solidarity advisers Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, have been subjected to severe maltreatment. Do you know anything more about that?

[Answer] Yes, this is also something that we regard as certain information. We have received it from several sources, independent of each other. For instance there was someone who was in prison together with them and was then released because he was a diabetic and had an attack, after which he was released. But before that he saw Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik maltreated in prison.

[Question] In what way were they maltreated?

[Answer] They had numerous bruises, and Adam Michnik was also kicked in the area of the kidneys, and they were generally exhausted.

Gornicki Interviewed by FRG TV

DW281023 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 1900 GMT 24 Dec 81

["Excerpts" from "first instalment" of correspondent Richter interview with Captain Wieslaw Gornicki, adviser to General Jaruzelski and spokesman of the Military Council of National Salvation in Warsaw on 23 December; in English with superimposed German translation -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Was the decision to impose martial law made because of external influence?

[Answer] I am very glad you asked this question. My answer is a flat no. There was no external interference. We proclaimed martial law so as to preclude such external interference. We did this on our own for domestic policy reasons and for the sake of preserving peace in Europe and of avoiding unforeseeable consequences. If you recall the consequences of the incidents in Hungary in 1956, you know what I mean.

I am aware that some people in the West are exploiting the incidents in Poland, and unfortunately this includes at least one government -- the U.S. Government. They are trying to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria. This is not only cynical but also completely unjustified. There is not one single bit of proof to support this assumption. No matter what we are doing in Poland -- sometimes with extraordinary and brutal means -- we will not in any event turn back the wheel of history. On the contrary, all agreements concluded with Solidarity in August 1980 will be observed, and some of them will even be enhanced.

I repeat for the umpteenth time: There is room in Poland for an independent trade union -- independent from the state but also independent from antisocialist and anticommunist terrorists. I am sorry, but I have to use this word. The military government in Poland does not want to return to the conditions prior to August 1980. The simple reason for this is that the old system will not no longer get us anywhere in Poland.

Continuation of Interview

DW281207 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 2130 GMT 25 Dec 81

["Excerpts" from "second and final installment" of correspondent Richter interview with Captain Wieslaw Gornicki, Polish Military Council spokesman, in Warsaw on 23 December; in English with superimposed German translation -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] In thousands of cases human and civil rights have been seriously violated.

[Answer] This is a special situation that is foreseen not in only our laws and Constitution. The proclamation of martial law is occasionally observed in many other countries. In this connection I would like to draw your attention to the special measures taken by the West Berlin policy in May 1968, or to the introduction of martial law in some states of the United States during the revolt of the sixties.

[Question] How do you feel about a situation in which many people still do not know why their relatives have been deprived of their freedom, where they have been taken and what is happening to them?

[Answer] This was stated unequivocally a few days ago at a press conference held by the government spokesman. Unfortunately, the content of this press conference was not properly conveyed to Western public opinion. I also believe that the content of General Jaruzelski's speech is not adequately known in the world. What he said was that in the long run not a single Polish problem can be solved by force. This, after all, is an important statement.

As far as those people are concerned whom we, as you see things, have deprived of their freedom, I cannot but ask you: What is better, depriving me of my freedom or them of theirs? There is no holy war against the trade union. What is important is to avoid a very long and bloody civil war. There are lists with names of people -- these will be made public in the next few days -- who were supposed to be eliminated by force, if necessary. These lists were compiled by the extremists on the fringe of Solidarity.

General Jaruzelski and the people in the Polish Government are not junta types. We are perfectly aware that Polish traditions and the Polish national character do not allow military dictatorships. Nobody likes to commit suicide by using force to rule a nation which makes no secret of its opinion and which has a long anarchic tradition. This is a nation of 36 million individualists. This is the simple truth, and if extreme measures have been taken, then it is only because there was no other alternative.

[Question] The Polish church has charged that the military government is terrorizing the nation.

[Answer] Would you expect the Roman Catholic Church to come to terms with any kind of military power even if it is said from the outset that it will not last forever? Quite the contrary. Everybody, including the military council, wants to lift the martial law restrictions -- and this is intended. I am not trying here to convince your television audience -- I can hardly do that wearing a Polish uniform -- but I appeal to your judgment, your understanding for the postwar situation in Europe and for international politics. Any further escalation of Polish internal developments would inevitably entail unforeseeable consequences which would affect West Germany as well.

[Question] You accused the Western press of reporting falsely and improperly on conditions in Poland. Why don't you allow Western journalists to vist the interned people and to obtain first-hand information about the situation?

[Answer] These are conditions of a state of emergency. I believe that this will be possible sooner or later, even if these people are still interned, though I cannot tell you when this will be. These people will be set free again with some exceptions, such as the chairman of the Szczecin Solidarity who will be indicted under a law which precedes 13 December. He will not be released because he will have to face trial for a criminal offense committed prior to that date. However, all others will be released because we have said a thousand times that what is involved here is not imprisonment. These people are not guilty; they are only temporarily under arrest. Once they are released they will have access to everyone. So nothing whatsoever is going to happen.

You know all those stories about people being held in tents in the snow and suffering from thirst. All this is idiotic. A few days from now you will be able to see this for yourself; you will have a chance to talk with these people, and you will be allowed to report everything just as you see fit.

[Question] A few days from now?

[Answer] It may be a little longer, but definitely not months or years; that much is clear. The Polish solution of temporarily imposing martial law does not have any precedent in the socialist countries. It is not in keeping with the normal practices of true socialism. You cannot expect our fraternal countries to unreservedly give us ideological support for this completely new solution to the Polish issue. There is one thing that I wish to make clear because I realize that I am speaking to a West German audience: Whatever you hear officially or unofficially about foreign interference in Polish developments over the past few days is simply false. If you fail to understand this, you will do a bad turn not only to Poland and all its citizens, but also to your own national interests.

[Question] Do you mean to say that the rumors are also untrue according to which Soviet soldiers have been in Poland, wearing Polish uniforms during the state of martial law?

[Answer] This is such utter nonsense that I even hate to comment on it. The French news agency AFP reported, among other things, the news that some of the interned people had been taken to the Soviet Union. People in this country just cannot disappear. Sooner or later they come back. Even the very idea of keeping Polish citizens interned abroad is nonsensical; Soviet soldiers in Polish uniforms -- this is also horror propaganda. There is no such thing.

[Question] Are you afraid that workers will resort to passive resistance if the strikes are suppressed?

[Answer] There is nothing to justify such a fear. With a few exceptions the situation in Poland is calm. I believe that the extremists in Solidarity made another mistake by underrating the silent majority. The majority of the Polish people is fed up with tensions, strikes and poverty. Even those who disapprove of the martial law restrictions hold that in any event the present situation is better than that of a week ago. I fail to see what passive resistance should be like. The necessary economic reforms will be initiated effective 1 January, reforms under which emphasis will be placed on the efficiency and profitability of each enterprise. If the workers work in slow motion, they would thereby act against their own interests not only as the worker class; they would also act against their own factories and advantages.

Let me stress one point: No matter what we have done in Poland by applying extraordinary and somewhat brutal measures, we will not turn back the wheels of history.

[Question] Have I understood you correctly to mean that a future Polish economy is inconceivable without an independent trade union?

[Answer] Why, certainly. We are not interested in creating a sham trade union again. Even the so-called old trade unions are no longer what they once were. All of us had to learn this lesson from the past. Independent control institutions are required to create a working Polish economy. Nobody is fighting against the concept of independent trade unions in Poland.

Kuron Reportedly Mistreated

NC281846 Paris AFP in English 1834 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Stockholm, 28 Dec (AFP) -- Lech Walesa, the detained leader of Poland's independent trade union federation, has been on hunger strike for the past four days, a Solidarity official here told a radio interviewer today.

(In Rome yesterday, papal envoy Msgr Luigi Poggi, upon returning from a visit to Poland, said that Mr Walesa had not been arrested but was in "enforced residence," and did not mention the hunger strike.)

In today's report, Solidarity official Yakub Swiecicki said that Jacek Kuron, a founder of the dissident Polish Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR), had been mistreated in prison. He was quoting a source who had been imprisoned with Mr Kuron but released after an attack of diabetes.

The statement confirmed reports by Polish intellectuals in the United States that Mr Kuron and KOR co-founder Adam Michnik had been beaten after the arrest in the wake of the Polish state of siege.

Arrested TU Leaders Said in USSR

LD231240 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] New reports are coming in about what has happened to the arrested leaders of Solidarity in the Baltic towns in Poland. Our reporter has received information from sources within the Polish Catholic Church.

Several Solidarity leaders from the Baltic towns of Elblag, Gdansk, Gdynia, Slupsk, Koszalin and Szczecin have been taken to camps in the Soviet Union. The camps are a short way away on the other side of the border between Poland and the USSR. The reports come from prominent people in the Catholic Church in the Baltic towns. The reason is that it is to be made totally impossible for those arrested to have any contact with other people in Poland.

The situation in the Baltic towns was very tense late last night although the curfew has been eased in the Gdansk area, but on Tuesday night a 2000-0600 curfew was still in force in Szczecin. Despite the fact that the shipyard management in Szczecin has laid off the workers they continue to arrive for work, and today they all had to renew their identification documents at the shipyard's main office. Those who fail to do so are dismissed and will also lose their food ration coupons. According to a communique in the local paper in Szczecin, work is to be resumed at the shipyard on 4 January.

A German businessman who has been in Gdansk for the past 12 days said at the ferry between Swinoujecie and Ystad last night that there is not a single unbroken window in the central parts of Gdansk. There was violent unrest on Wednesday and Thursday, but there were also smaller clashes between the civilian population and the police both on Saturday and Sunday. He had not seen whether the clashes claimed lives but it would be strange, he says, if several people were not killed in view of the brutal methods used by both sides. According to the German businessman, the military took a wait-and-see attitude and the civilian population posted stickers with the Solidarity emblem on armored cars and tanks. Both last Wednesday and Thursday shooting could be heard, and the police also used tear gas. There are military checkpoints on the roads around all Baltic towns and Polish and foreign citizens are carefully checked.

AFP on News Bulletin Schedule

NC260934 Paris AFP in English 0928 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Text] Vienna, 26 Dec (AFP) -- Warsaw Radio last night broke a programme schedule followed since martial law was imposed two weeks ago, broadcasting only three news bulletins interspersed with Christmas carols and military tunes. Polish listeners were also treated to two broadcasts gloryfying the armed forces. Since martial law came into force on December 13, Polish Radio had been following a strict schedule, with a news bulletin every hour, and every half hour between five and eight in the morning. Last night's bulletins came only at 0000 GMT, 0400 GMT and 0600 GMT, summarizing the news on Christmas day.

Solidarity Aide Interviewed

PM241725 Paris LE MONDE in French 19 Dec 81 p 3

[Pierre Li interview with Solidarity press agency cofounder Seweryn Blumsztajn in Paris: "Independent Trade Unions Had Not Wanted To Prepare To Go Underground" -- date not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Seweryn Blumsztajn, whose name appeared on the first official list published in Poland of people imprisoned since General Jaruzelski's coup, was in Paris at the time, where he answered our questions.

Note this is also true of Miroslaw Chojecki, director of the dissident Nowa publishing house, and Wojciech Karpinski, a member of the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR], who are in the United States. Seweryn Blumsztajn, who was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment in 1968 during the repression against the Warsaw University students, was subsequently only allowed to continue his studies at the Catholic University in Lublin. He joined the KOR in 1977 after taking part in writing the information bulletin which was published by the opposition. In 1980 he was one of the founders of the Solidarity press agency which, working from Warsaw, distributed trade union information to all the interenterprise committees.

[Question] Was Solidarity prepared for what has just happened?

[Answer] We were generally convinced that a confrontation was becoming inevitable and that a systematic reform of the government could only be carried out after that. It was obvious that the conflict would take the form of a general strike. We were psychologically and politically prepared for that.

On the other hand nobody had imagined that the government was going to take such brutal measures, and, technically speaking, Solidarity was not prepared for it. That would have required a clandestine, conspiratorial organization which is incompatible with that kind of movement, which is obsessed with democracy and open debate. I know no example of a movement in which any meeting of at least six members of the National Commission could take place, as was the case, in the presence of a journalist who was free to give a detailed report of it without any censorship.

We knew that in the event of attack the authorities would have no difficulty in arresting the majority of the leaders and that the organization could only reform itself with those who entrenched themselves in the factories. It was impossible to set up a secret apparatus. This was not because it was impossible to foresee the extent of the arrests but because it was not a question of a leader being nominated, even by Walesa. He had to be elected.

Anyway, the slightest preparation for confrontation would have been denounced by the authorities as an attempt to seize power. It is enough to see how they make a pretext of the workers guards which some enterprise sections tried to form.

[Question] Where might General Jaruzelski's coup lead, in your opinion?

[Answer] In France people are often saying that the general has saved Poland from Soviet intervention by his putsch. This seems excessive to me. It was clear to the Polish people that the population would resist the coup. The restrictions he is imposing puts society back into the 19th century or brings back memories of the Hitlerite occupation with its requisition of radio sets.

Jaruzelski has cut himself off from any possible ally within Poland. If he really uses the army, part of it will put down its arms, which will bring about a situation in which Soviet intervention will become more likely. According to what we know today, this is the only logical outcome of the machinery which has just been set in motion. The entire responsibility will develop onto General Jaruzelski. The only way to avoid catastrophe is to free the Solidarity leaders immediately. It is no longer even certain that once they have been released they will be able to make Polish society accept communist power in any form.

Population's Distrust

[Question] By deciding on a referendum on methods of government last Saturday, Solidarity embarked on political activity. How did the trade union reach that point?

[Answer] The fundamental principle of the movement at its outset was "self-limitation." We believed that by "limiting itself" — that is, by encroaching on the interests neither of the USSR nor the political power of the Polish party, the PZPR -- the trade union could nonetheless conquer certain spheres of public life.

We thought at the same time that the control exercised by society would make the power of the communists more effective. Our long-term view was that society as a whole, self-organized, would come to control central power in the social and economic sectors.

We believed that, thanks to Solidarity, social life would know a renaissance at all levels, both in the professional associations and at local level.

However, Solidarity has been constantly compelled to take initiatives which overstep trade union bounds, for two reasons. The first is that the government was incapable of setting in motion the processes for getting out of the crisis. The second is that all social aspirations were centered on Solidarity, from economic or cultural revival to self-management.

For example, the distribution of food products was becoming so precarious that people were convinced that the government was willfully starving them, which says a lot for the population's distrust. In order to combat this mood Solidarity proposed providing proof of the real shortage of the goods and confirming this on its authority. On more than one occasion the authorities at local level allowed Solidarity to examine food stocks because they feared an explosion of anger. When control was demanded at national level, the government denounced it as an attempt to seize power. Deputy Premier Rakowski declared unequivocally that whoever controlled the food supply also possessed power.

That is the sort of paralysis we were up against. The conviction had developed that nothing could work until Solidarity took things in hand, mainly economic reform. The people, increasingly radical, waited for the trade union to take the initiative, convinced that the only thing the government was capable of was to block all development, failing to implement either economic reform or a plan of stabilization.

In a communist regime people put all responsibilities in the hands of the government. Well then, they saw that in our country they could not even count on it to find them simple articles such as tubes of toothpaste and packets of detergent.

Seamen Desert, Purges Continue

LD281812 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1751 GMT 28 Dec 81

[By Tom McMullan, PA diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Poland's attempts to restore trade with the West could be hindered because so many of her seamen are seeking political asylum abroad, according to reports from Warsaw today.

Press stories reaching the West said Polish ships were returning with skeleton crews, because of desertions in other countries.

Even crews sent from Poland to help the ships stranded by desertions were seeking political asylum themselves.

With Poland seeking to revive her ailing economy, these desertions could damage foreign trade.

Meanwhile, purges of communist party members continue, leaving the hardliners in control, according to the reports.

In Krakow, the regional communist party organisation has been officially suspended, and there have been similar party suspensions in factories elsewhere.

Many other party members are handing in their membership cards.

The port of Szczecin is said to be jammed with a backlog of ships, despite official claims of normality.

Dockers are working, but cargoes are being recycled round the docks, so little has been unblocked.

Relations between the public and the soldiers in Szczecin are said to be good -- but with the police, bad.

Some reports claim there is an underground attempt to influence the soldiers.

A fear campaign against military families has led to their doors being daubed with white crosses to identify them but it is unclear whether this is widespread, or effective.

Reports reaching Warsaw say thousands of people are being sacked for refusing to concur with what so-called "verification" -- agreeing not to engage in anti-socialist activity, and to resign from Solidarity.

Independent sources say normal factory production is often resumed when strikes end.

Some observers expect production to return to normal even more in the new year, when "restrictive" workers are removed or sacked.

There could be evidence that the sackings are having the results the military regime intends.

Production could slowly return to normal, as workers and management see what is happening to their colleagues.

Army Discipline Problems

LD271934 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1808 GMT 27 Dec 81

[By Tom McMullan, PA diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Soldiers enforcing the martial law conditions in Poland are being handed poisoned sweets by the public, according to usually reliable reports.

It is also widely believed that the army has severe discipline problems -- and one report says at least one soldier has been executed for disobeying orders.

Because of the censorship imposed by the military government, a full picture of life in Poland is difficult to piece together.

But the reports about the army's discipline problems come from seasoned observers.

Quoting a "very reliable source" in Warsaw, they said a mother had been told to collect the body of her soldier son who had been shot. It is thought he was guilty of desertion. Another report speaks of soldiers being admitted to a military hospital with bullet wounds. And it is reliably believed throughout Warsaw -- but not officially confirmed -- that people have been handing soldiers poisoned sweets.

A bulletin issued by Solidarity this weekend contained reports of detainees being woken by having freezing water poured over them.

There were also stories of gas being pumped into mines, and people being shot and truncheon-charged by police.

Western diplomats conclude that as long as such reports are circulating, the difficulties of the authorities are increased.

They make it harder to convince the civilian population that martial law is in Poland's best interests.

Plan for Food Distribution

NC281700 Paris AFP in English 1644 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Text] Rome, 28 Dec (AFP) -- Polish bishops have reached an agreement with the Polish Government on the distribution of emergency food aid in Poland, Catholic Church sources said here today.

They said the two sides would cooperate in drawing up a list of the old, the sick and children in each diocese who would get priority in food hand-outs.

A convoy of trukcs carrying sugar donated by the Rome diocese will leave Italy for Katowice, Poland, tomorrow.

Meanwhile, Quebec has donated 50,000 dollars to the International Red Cross to help the Polish population, Provincial Immigration Minister Gerald Godin said in Montreal.

He made the announcement to several hundred Canadians of Polish origin who gathered in the Church of Notre Dame de Czestochowa, where seven people have been on a hunger strike for more than three days to focus attention on the plight of the Poles.

SFB To Broadcast Daily on Poland

LD241115 Hamburg DPA in German 1715 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 23 December (DPA) -- Radio Free Berlin (SFB) is to broadcast a daily information bulletin in Polish on 98.2 mhz from 2220 to 2250 [2120-2150 GMT] daily from tomorrow [Thursday] onwards. SFB today said that it was thus meeting the wishes expressed by many of the some 10,000 Poles in Berlin who are largely dependent on news in their native language for information on the latest events in their homeland.

Economy To Be Investigated

LD270944 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0902 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] Poland's East European allies have served notice they intend to carry out a searching examination of the country's finances after the present troubles are over. They are likely to be tougher than the Western bankers who now appear to be agreeing to reschedule repayment of Poland's 26 billion dollar debts. A high COMECON official, an accountant, who was in Western Europe recently, told one 'hard-line' British communist that there was to be a complete audit of Polish finances. He estimated it would take two years because of the financial mess the country was in.

"It seems that everybody has been cooking the books, from the factory floor to the president's office," he told his British friend.

One year when Polish authorities claimed a 5 percent increase in national output there was, in fact, a 2 percent decline, COMECON officials now believe.

The COMECON official quoted the comment of a former head of the Polish Communist party -- "Poles will all die for their country but very few will work for it."

'Hard-liners' among communists in East and West are blaming Poland's troubles on grandiose ideas for new industrialisation, without the means to pay for it, instead of concentrating on the country's natural resources. Romania, they say, could be heading the same way.

"Stalin laid down the principles for economic investment -- that a country's resources for investment were what was left out of production after consumption," said the British communist. "After all that is only modern monetarism -- though Stalin made it work.

"He financed his five year plans by increasing production but limiting consumption. The Poles increased consumption, reduced production but still tried to invest more and more. Naturally they got into debt."

Defector Interviewed

DW281449 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 28 Dec 81 pp 67,68

[Interview with Polish defector Gen Leon Dubicki; date and place not given]

[Text] SPEIGEL: Mr Dubicki, what can cause a Polish officer to order shots to be fired at workers among whom may be some of his relatives?

Dubicki: He is committed to army discipline and is exposed to the continuous influence of the party organization.

SPEIGEL: Is indoctrination successful?

Dubicki: Not in the ideological sense, but definitely in the psychological-moral sense. You do not need not to believe in what you are doing; your actions are guided by the indoctrination apparatus.

SPIEGEL: Are the humble soldiers subjected to the same ideological treatment?

Dubicki: Even more so.

SPIEGEL: But they are exposed to this influence for only 2 years.

Dubicki: The 2-year term of service is unimportant. The political officers are very proud at being able to agitate the soldiers. This means creating moral terror, coercion, punitive instruments, and then the so-called honor of the uniform and the love for the authority of the army.

SPIEGEL: Can a soldier shoot at his father or brother who is a member of Solidarity just out of love for the uniform?

Dubicki: No, only by coercion, by the system by which an army is led and which has been perfected in the socialist camp.

SPIEGEL: What does this look like in practice?

Dubicki: The soldiers are assigned in such a way, for example, that the ideologically more reliable man will keep an eye on the less reliable soldier. In addition, everyone must report on the other. In this way unreliable men are eliminated from the outset. In actions such as those you mentioned, therefore, a significant number of enlisted men stay in the barracks -- entire battalions and companies. Some of the soldiers refuse to obey the order altogether; they are convicted and placed under arrest. There are a lot of officers and enlisted men under arrest in the Polish Army now.

SPIEGEL: General, you are trying to keep the honor of your troops unblemished. In 1970 Army units were sent against workers in Gdansk and they fired.

Dubicki: In addition to the militia the army was also used, but the soldiers had been carefully selected beforehand...

SPIEGEL: The unreliable soldiers remained in the barracks?

Dubicki: Yes, they were not used.

SPIEGEL: Despite all other differences of opinion, the trade union Solidarity agreed on one point -- a Polish soldier would never shoot at a Polish worker. Now they are shooting after all.

Dubicki: Yes, this is exactly what I tried to impress on the trade union members. But they did not believe me.

SPIEGEL: So it was an illusion to believe that in the event of a Soviet invasion, the Polish Army would turn its weapons around and aim them at the Soviets?

Dubicki: Yes. The specter of a Soviet invasion was used as early as at the beginning of September 1980, for instance in television broadcasts by which fear was spread by using the memory of the abortive revolts of the 18th century. The specter of a Soviet invasion became a protective screen against the further development of Solidarity, in order to fan fear; at the same time more concrete plans on the mission of Soviet and Polish troops were mapped out.

SPIEGEL: How do you know?

Dubicki: From personal talks with competent people: For example, General Shcheglov, the supreme representative of the Warsaw Pact with the Polish Army, as well as from talks which Marshal Kulikov held with the general staff in Warsaw. I did not participate in these talks, I heard about them directly from participants.

SPIEGEL: What were the plans like?

Dubicki: The Soviet troops were supposed to be concentrated and ready for action by 15 December 1980, and at the same time a gradual infiltration by Soviet troops was to take place -- they were supposed to come across the border to Poland and also to the GDR.

SPIEGEL: Didn't a lot of Soviet troops stay in Poland after the exercises last year?

Dubicki: The principal role in the showdown with Solidarity was to be played by the Polish Army which, however, is directly subordinate to the Soviet Army.

SPIEGEL: It was the second half of December 1980 that troop movements of the Soviet Army were observed.

Dubicki: This was a pure act of deterrence. In the meantime, once they saw the reaction to it, the Soviet leadership waived direct action by its own troops. Talks with Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov, Marshal Kulikov and other high-ranking Soviet officers revealed that direct occupation of Poland at this time would be neither necessary nor worthwhile.

SPIEGEL: Why?

Dubicki: The Soviet Union is afraid of the Polish people, and Kania did not want to be the man who plunged his people into tragedy.

SPIEGAL: You, Mr Dubicki, cooperated with the trade union Solidarity. Did you pass information on to it?

Dubicki: A lot of concrete technical data which pertained to the plans. As early as November, I had warned the trade union people of what was being prepared against them, so that they could properly adapt to the situation.

SPIEGEL: What advice did you give your contacts in Solidarity?

Dubicki: I advised them to set up a corresponding organization system of general leadership cells so that they might be able to offer resistance in the event of a situation like the one we are observing now. I also advised them to set up two or three groups of leadership. I told them all this last fall.

General Jaruzelski, after all, showed his real mission already in February when he became premier. He said he would crush Solidarity by force.

The top military leadership knew as early in February what has now happened in December. Since that time military was preparing to forcibly suppress Solidarity.

SPIEGEL: Had an exact date been set?

Dubicki: The following was an established fact: Unless it were possible to smash Solidarity by other means, it would be forcibly destroyed at the beginning of winter. Beginning in March, troops were selected from individual components, the criterion being whether or not they were prepared to fight against their own class, their own people. In the suitable components special units and persons were selected, troop components which were suitable.

SPIEGEL: At the same time Moscow was again striving for detente with the West.

Dubicki: They planned to anticipate and counter the imminent deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe with activities of their own.

The developments in Poland could adversely affect the buffer zone for the Soviet armies in their actions against the armies of NATO. The problem of liquidating Solidarity was adapted to this situation.

SPIEGEL: Do you think the Soviet Union intended to create options for itself in the event of a hostile conflict in Europe?

Dubicki: Yes, as one option. A plan to this end did exist. This is the key to all things that followed. The military aspects of this plan were reviewed during the joint maneuvers which lasted from May to August this year -- large-scale exercises which cost many billions.

Yet, one question remained unresolved in all these plans: the military-political-social securing of the corridor which connects the Soviet Union with a potential frontline. Order in its corridor is being restored right now.

SPIEGEL: Judging by what you are saying, it is not the danger emanating from the trade union that matters...

Dubicki: The matter of Solidarity is a third rate problem because the liquidation of Solidarity does not require the whole militarization of the economy, such as, for instance, the appointment of commissars for the administration and for big enterprises.

SPIEGEL: Is there any proof to substantiate this?

Dubicki: During the maneuvers the existing garrison of three Soviet divisions was enlarged by at least eight divisions plus logistics units.

SPIEGEL: Is it true that a large quantity of Polish uniforms was sent to the Soviet Union during the year?

Dubicki: Yes, I personally heard from officers from headquarters that some of the uniforms produced in factories in Poznan, the Warsaw area and Lodz were sent to the Soviet Union.

SPIEGEL: Are Soviet soldiers in these uniforms really performing missions in Poland now?

Dubicki: Yes, to protect certain installations on Polish territory -- for example, air fields, arms depots, Soviet communications facilities. Most probably they are in action now. In addition, they serve as a means of deterrence against the purely Polish units.

SPIEGEL: If, then, a forcible smashing of the trade union had been planned long in advance, how could the workers have defended themselves?

Dubicki: Through a nation-wide general strike before the troops took their positions. If all plants are occupied by striking workers and if the entire economy is paralyzed, tanks will be of no help.

Strikes can be broken only if taken place in isolation, in individual enterprises and regions. And the trade union had been informed and warned that the state of emergency had been prepared.

EVENTS ON BREZHNEV'S 75TH BIRTHDAY REPORTED

Ceausescu Toasts Brezhnev

AU211456 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Dec 81 p 1

[Toast by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the 19 December Moscow reception marking Leonid Brezhnev's birthday anniversary]

[Text] Dear Comrade Brezhnev, I take great pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of Romania's party-state leadership and myself, warmest congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the anniversary of your 75th birthday and of a long past of work and struggle for the cause of socialism and communism, for the Soviet peoples' well-being and for peace and progress.

I want to express satisfaction with the continuous development of manysided cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union, and tomention your contribution, dear Leonid Ilich, to strengthening those relations. I am convinced that the Romanian-Soviet relations will follow a continuously ascending course, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interests of socialism and communism in our countries, and of the cause of socialism, cooperation and peace in the world.

The deterioration of the international situation makes it necessary for all progressive and anti-imperialist forces and all people who want to live in freedom and peace to unite their efforts to halt the arms race, to achieve detente and a policy of respect for national independence and for peoples' right to life and peace. The European peoples are deeply concerned about the great stockpiles of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, amassed on the continent. Public opinion rightly pins great hopes on the Soviet-American negotiations begun in Geneva, and expect them to materialize in efficient decision and measures to halt the deployment of medium-range missiles and to dismantle the existing ones. Similarly, it is urgently necessary for the Madrid Conference to bring about the convening of a conference on disarmament and confidence, and new steps toward building a peaceful, united Europe, in which all nations can cooperate on an equal footing for progress and a better life.

We appreciate the particular role played by the Soviet Union and by you, Comrade Brezhnev, in the struggle for development and peace, and we express our conviction that our countries will cooperate ever more actively, together with the other socialist countries and all peace-loving states, to fulfill the ardent aspirations of the European peoples and of all mankind, to safeguard the fundamental right of people everywhere to life, freedom and peace, and to fulfill the great ideals of communism: a world free of weapons and wars.

Once again, dear Leonid Ilich, I want to congratulate you and to wish you good health, working strength, a long life and ever greater successes in fulfilling the great responsibilities incumbent on you as leader of the Soviet party and state.

May the cooperation between our parties and peoples develop continuously, in the interests of socialism and communist construction in our countries, and of the cause of socialism and social progress!

May the policy of cooperation and of secure freedom, independence and security for all the world nations triumph!

May the policy of detente and peace on earth triumph!

I want to raise a toast to your health, Comrade Brezhnev!

To the health of all of you!

Ceausescu Cables Brezhnev

AU211500 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Dec 81 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Esteemed Comrade Brezhnev, on the occasion of your 75th birthday, I take great pleasure in conveying to you -- eminent leader of the Soviet party and state and noteworthy militant of the international communist and workers movement -- most cordial congratulations on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian communists and people, and on my own behalf.

Dear Comrade Leonid Ilich, your entire life and revolutionary activities devoted to the lofty ideals of socialism and communism are closely linked to the glorious road traveled by the Soviet peoples, led by the CPSU, in building socialism and communism in your fatherland.

The Romanian communists and working people are familiar with important role incumbent upon you in your greatly responsible function at the head of the Soviet party and state in developing Soviet economy, science and technology, and in increasing the working people's material and intellectual well-being, and with your active contribution to establishing a climate of peace, detente and cooperation in the world.

We highly appreciate your contribution to the continuously developing the relations of fraternal friendship and many-sided cooperation between the RCP and the CPSU and between Romania and the Soviet Union, and we want to express our firm conviction that those relations will further develop, in the spirit of the joint understanding reached at our meetings, for the benefit and in the interests of the Romanian and Soviet peoples, and of the cause of international peace and cooperation.

I want to wish you, dear Comrade Brezhnev, working strength and health, a long life and ever greater successes in your work devoted to developing the Soviet fatherland, to successfully implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, to the Soviet Union's resolute advance along the path of communism, and to consolidating international peace and cooperation.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

ALBANIA'S SHEHU SUICIDE REPORTED 20 DECEMBER

AU211416 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Dec 81 p 6

[Text] The Albanian press agency ATA reported a communique released by the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania stating that Mehmet Shehu, member of the Politburo of the AWP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania committed suicide on the night of 17 to 18 December in a moment of nervous crisis.

DEFENSE MINISTER CABLES SFRY, SRV COUNTERPARTS

Olteanu Greets Ljubicic

AU211425 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Dec 81 p 5

[Text] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Yugoslav people's army day, Lt Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a congratulatory cable to Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal defense secretary of the SFRY.

Olteanu Cables Dung

AU281153 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Dec 81 p 3

[Text] Lt Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a congratulatory cable to Army Gen Van Tien Dung, SRV minister of national defense, on the 37th anniversary of the creation of the Vietnamese People's Army.

On the same occasion, Tan Phong, SRV ambassador in our country, met with generals and officers from the Bucharest garrison to whom he talked about the significance of the event.

Those present at the meeting visited a photo exhibition depicting aspects of the life and activity of the Vietnamese People's Army and watched a movie supplied by the embassy.

TRADE TALKS WITH BULGARIA CONCLUDE 17 DEC

AU171945 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1907 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Dec (AGERPRES) -- The proceedings of the 15th session of the joint Romanian-Bulgarian Governmental Commission of Economic, Technical and Scientific Collaboration concluded in Bucharest on December 17.

New measures were set for expanding and diversifying the economic, technical and scientific collaboration and cooperation in metallurgy, electric power, machine building, electronics and electrical engineering, chemical industry, transport, agriculture and food industry, as well as in other fields of joint interest. Mutual deliveries of assemblies, subassemblies and spare parts for transport means, hydraulic and pneumatic items, computation technology and others were agreed upon. Important measures were also set to further develop goods exchanges, to expand and diversify them.

A protocol was signed at the end of the proceedings.

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM

AU261927 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 26 Dec 81

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Dec (AGERPRES) -- The plenary meeting of the Committee for People's Councils Affairs took place in Bucharest, over December 25-26.

The participants in the plenary meeting analyzed the way in which action was taken in 1981 for improving the work style and methods of the local bodies of state power and administration and of the Committee for People's Councils Affairs.

Measures have been established meant to lead to further improving the work of people's councils, of their committees and executive bureaus in all fields of activity, to increasing their contribution to fulfilling the tasks devolving upon them in keeping with the documents of the 12th congress of the party and the second congress of the people's councils, to the complete implementation of the plan for economic and social development by territorial units in 1982.

OFFICIALS LOSE JOBS AFTER PITESTI INDUSTRIAL FIRE

AU281155 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Dec 81 p 5

["For Strengthening Responsibility and Establishing Order and Workers' Discipline at the Pitesti Petrochemical Combine"]

[Text] A fire broke out at the Pitesti petrochemical combine on 23 December 1981 which seriously damaged certain installations. This accident was due to lack of order and discipline, to frequent violation of the technical norms, lack of control and supervision and to the poor maintenance and use of installations.

A party-state commission has been set up to investigate this case and establish who was responsible for this accident.

Engineer Ion Ionita, director general of the Pitesti petrochemical combine, was relieved of his position.

At the same time, in connection with the shortcomings and violations at the Pitesti petrochemical combine and for failure to firmly apply the party and state decisions, Valeriu Nicolescu was relieved of his position as first secretary of the Pitesti municipal party committee and Mircea Manta was relieved of his position as secretary of the combine's party committee.

The same day, the combine's party aktiv held a plenary session to critically and self-critically examine violations in organizing and managing the activity in that unit and in the supervision and safe operation of installations.

In a spirit of great exactitude and communist and workers' responsibility, the participants in the plenary session adopted political and organizational measures designed to ensure the strict application of party decisions and of our country's laws on strengthening order and discipline and to contribute to the proper maintenance and use of installations.

The participants in the plenary session assured the party and state leadership and RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally that they would act with great devotion and determination to eliminate shortcomings in the combine so that that economic unit will commendably fulfill the duties entrusted to it.

EUROPEAN SCIENCE ACADEMY AWARDS ELENA CEAUSESCU

AU242015 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Bucharest, 24 Dec (AGERPRES) -- During a ceremony held on December 24, Academician Elena Ceausescu, D. Eng., first deputy prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, was handed over the diploma of full member of the European Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, and member of the honorary committee of the academy, as well as the Golden Badge of the academy.

The distinctions of the European scientific and cultural forum were handed over by Professor Raymond Daudel, president of the European Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters.

The election of Elena Ceausescu -- outstanding scientist of world repute -- full member of the celebrated European academy is an expression of the profound consideration of her remarkable contribution to the new gains of science and technology in support of the peoples' peace, progress and civilization.

Participating in the ceremony were Ion Ursu, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, Gheorghe Mihoc, president of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Serban Titeica, vice president of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, other Romanian scientists.

Handing over the high distinctions to Elena Ceausescu, Professor Raymond Daudel said: "I am particularly honored by the chance you have given to me, for the second time, after the important action represented by the international symposium "Scientists and Peace," to meet you in this Latin European country that has had long relations of friendship with France and that is so much dedicated to maintaining peace in the world and to the international cooperation.

BRIEFS

USSR ACADEMICIAN -- Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, on 15 December received Prof. Oleg T. Bogomolov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Science and director of the Institute for the International Socialist Economic System, who is visiting our country. The sides discussed cooperation between relevant Romanian and USSR institutes. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Dec 81 p 5 AU]

MIKULIC REPORT TO LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

LD231752 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0659 GMT 23 Dec 81

["Branko Mikulic Report to the LCY Central Committee Session" -- TANJUG headline; monitored TANJUG transmissions did not carry initial portions of this item, the transmission of which begins with take 11 of a total of 25 TANJUG takes]

[Text] [dateline not received] I am mentioning this, Mikulic stressed, because even now warnings are being sounded about the alleged dangers of federalization of the LCY. These warnings express not only concern for the unity of the LCY but also the wishes of individuals to question the equality among and the independence, role and responsibility of republican and provincial leagues and to transform the LCY into a "monolithic party" of a centralist type. The result of such an action would be to separate the Leagues of Communists of the republics and provinces from the social and national interests of the working class and all working people and from the nations and nationalities and the conditions in which they operate. This would open the way for nationalistic and other tendencies which are against socialism, self-management, the federal set-up and the policy of nonalignment -- that is, against the fundamental foundations of our unity. This demonstrates that our centralists, objectively speaking, play into the hands of those who are against the socialist togetherness of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Of course, when we consider the statement that the LCY is allegedly already federalized, one can derive other conclusions as well -- for instance, that behind it is concealed the wish to legalize this sort of conduct when it is in somebody's interest.

Recently the question has been put as to whether the League of Communists is a cadre or a mass party. We built our stands on the concept of the party -- that is, of the League of Communists -- as far back as the Sixth LCY Congress. According to our concept, the League of Communists is not a party, in the ordinary meaning, which takes a direct part in the fulfillment of the function of the authority, but a specific vanguard of the "League of Communists" type and a cohesive and leading ideological and political force of the working class and of all working people. The LCY does not operate on behalf of the class, but within the class and the broad front of all socialist forces. Having become one of the "strongest pillars of the democracy of a new type, democracy of pluralism of self-management interests" as Eduard Kardelj pointed out, "the League of Communists lost also the character of a classical political party which fights for its political monopoly in competition with other political forces." It follows therefore that the League of Communists is not a cadre party of the type built in conditions of a single party political system, nor is it a mass organization in keeping with the type of parties formed in conditions of political pluralism in bourgeois societies. As an answer to the aforementioned question, we could also say the following: the League of Communists is more than a cadre and more than a mass party. It is not a conventional political party at all, but is, from the point of view of its role in the system of socialist self-management, the sort of communist vanguard which within that system is the leading ideological and political force of the working class and of all working people.

If we neglected, or to put it better, if we abandoned the agreed admissions criteria and tolerated this kind of practice, and there has been such practice in recent years, we would, realistically speaking, noted Mikulic, expose ourselves to the danger of the dilution of the ideopolitical unity of the League of Communists and to the weakening of its class structure and capability for action. Rejecting any kind of sectarianism, we should critically reexamine the practice of massive admission into the League of Communists and insist on respect for the agreed admissions criteria.

Branko Mikulic recalled that between the 10th LCY Congress and the end of 1980 -- that is, during a 7-year period -- over 1,287,000 members were admitted into the LCY.

During this period, the number of worker -- direct producer -- members has doubled, but their relative ratio in the membership structure did not change because working people of other professions were admitted on a massive scale as well. What has to be borne in mind, he said, is that we are referring only to unskilled, semiskilled, skilled and highly skilled workers, and not to technicians and engineers who are also direct producers.

The possibility having been opened for admission into the League of Communists of those people who, objectively speaking, do not fulfill admission conditions for various reasons, a number of members found themselves in the League of Communists ranks who are not favored by the League of Communists, the kind of bourgeois people and others who introduce into the League of Communists alien awareness and interests which run counter to the interests of the working class: conformism and opportunism.

The result was that people found themselves in the League of Communists who hold very different views on the principled questions of LCY policy, such as, for instance, on the development of the socioeconomic and political system of socialist self-management, the federal set-up, the nationality question, the role of the state, relations within the LCY and so on. There are individuals who publicly operate from positions which run counter to the program and policy of the League of Communists, which advocate the strengthening of the role of the state organs in planning the development, channelling accumulation and laying down conditions of economic operations, etc -- that is, a revision of the constitution and of the law on associated labor -- and the organs and basic organizations of the LCY do not initiate a discussion on these stands of League of Communists members. We gave our agreement, admittedly a tacit one, whereby individuals and groups could act according to their convictions even if they were running completely counter to the agreed League of Communists policy and stands. It is certain that this is having an adverse effect on the ideopolitical unity and action capacity of the League of Communists and is also giving rise to further negative consequences.

Branko Mikulic then spoke about LCY organs, saying that the commission proposed that their present structure should be kept. This applies to the congress, the Central Committee, the Presidium, the executive secretaries and to the statute and supervisory commission. The proposal is that the present membership levels of the Central Committee and the statute and supervisory commissions should be retained. The commission did not feel competent to formulate its proposal on the number of Presidium members and suggested that the Central Committee Presidium discuss this point and formulate the appropriate proposal.

The Presidium decided that the present number of Presidium members and the principles on the basis of which it is comprised should not be changed.

Speaking of the way politico-executive organs in the League of Communists are elected, Mikulic recalled that the LCY statute obliges only League of Communists municipal conferences to elect their politico-executive organs by secret ballot. The central and provincial committees and the LCY Central Committee, as a rule, decided to elect their politico-executive organs by open vote.

The commission proposes, he said, that all politico-executive organs in the LCY be elected in the same way -- that is, by secret ballot or by an open vote -- but the possibility can also be entertained that every organ should decide for itself. The LCY Presidium is of the same opinion.

Bearing in mind the positive experience of the work of the LCY conferences between the 9th and the 10th Congresses of the LCY and also the need to organize regular "general-party" discussions -- that is to say, democratic consideration and formulation of LCY policy and stands on topical ideopolitical, socioeconomic and other questions -- the commission came to the conclusion that the LCY statute should envisage the possibility of periodic LCY conferences.

We made the assessment that such discussions and the holding of conferences should contribute to a fuller involvement of the communists and of League of Communists basic organizations and organs in the formulation of LCY policy, and that this is also of exceptional importance for the further building of democratic relations in the LCY, for the formulation of the best stands on a specific question and for the implementation of the policy and stands of the League of Communists. The conference would not be either an LCY forum or organ, but a form of work of the Central Committee. However, the Central Committee would be obliged to discuss the proposals and the suggestions of the conference and, if it proves to be necessary, on the basis of the results of the work of the conference, adopt appropriate conclusions and decisions. The LCY Central Committee Presidium endorsed this commission proposal. The republics and provinces should work out their stands on this question -- that is, whether the possibility of holding such conferences in the republics, provinces, cities and municipalities is to be envisaged.

The preparations for the conferences -- that is to say, "general-party" discussions -- would provide fresh initiative for the development of ideological work. They would encourage many people to become involved in social work, to learn and to acquire fresh knowledge. League of Communists members and other working people note the struggle of orientations and conflict between various points of view on the development of our society. They also notice those tendencies which do not wish clearly to express their ideological positions but are breaking surface "silently," and so on. As a result, we witness the fact that the people often ask practical-political, ideological and theoretical questions which are engendered in the conflict between the practice and program principles. Therefore, ideopolitical training and Marxist education are becoming an increasingly difficult, responsible and delicate business.

Of the communist and workers parties, the LCY is among those with the most developed theory of the social and ideopolitical role of the vanguard of the working class, its relationship with that class, in accordance with the structures of authority, its position within the political system, the method of activity and practical implementation of its role in society, etc. Nevertheless, whenever problems and contradictions in economic and social development pile up, we always turn towards ourselves, the League of Communists, critically reexamine its activity and assess the way we implement our role of the leading ideological and political force of the working class and of all working people. This is understandable, because such a critical approach is the premise for the unavoidable first step in the effort to conduct the struggle for the solution of the problems which have cropped up in the direction of strengthening socialist self-management socioeconomic relations in associated labor and in society as a whole.

Now that the LCY has over 2.1 million members and over 65,000 basic organizations, the question of training the League of Communists even more efficiently to grapple with the well-known difficulties becomes even more acute: how to organize this enormous number of members to conduct the very complex political, ideological and social actions demanded at the present moment of the League of Communists; how best to contribute to an all-round involvement of all potentials of our society, such as the daily experience and initiatives of the working class, the practical-political and ideological-theoretical capability of the League of Communists and the creative potential of our science; how to promote the relations between the organs and basic organizations of the League of Communists, to develop forms of work to ensure that basic organizations and League of Communists members are in a position to take as active a part as possible in the formulation of the policy and stands of the League of Communists, and that organs of the League of Communists can guide the ideological and political activity of the basic League of Communists organisations; how to discuss in League of Communists organs the views, the proposals and the criticism expressed in the basic organizations with the least possible "elaboration" and "emendation," that is to say, in their original form, just as they had been put forward, including the various forms of their "ineptness," doubts and inadequacies, and formulate stands upon them.

Through many of these views, it will be possible in a more comprehensive and direct way to realize what the aspirations of the people are in work, in production and in social development at the present stage. They will speak about the direct experience and the views of the working people as to how the principles and the policies of the League of Communists are actually being implemented. They will provide testimony to the strength and the doubts of the socialist self-management awareness and to the questions which concern it and which demand an answer.

Bearing all this in mind, the commission proposes that the LCY statute impose the obligation on the League of Communists organs periodically to discuss the assessments, initiatives, criticism and proposals by LCY basic organizations and to inform LCY membership about their views and assessments, because all these things have in some way to be made known and be transferred from League of Communists basic organizations into a wider work and social area. This must acquire more weight and influence in the LCY. Without it there will be difficulties with the struggle to overcome manifestations of inertia and routine type of work in basic League of Communists organizatiens. The same is true of the struggle to do away with various unprincpled compromises and to overcome the subordination of League of Communists basic organizations to various "structures" and other internal and external factors which hamper initiative, divert the work in the wrong direction and render difficult the implementation of the role of the basic League of Communists organizations. This will also have a bearing on the content of the work of League of Communists organs in the sense that it will strengthen their responsibility before League of Communists membership and also the links between the basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists. On the whole, it will strengthen the overall orientation of the organs and organizations of the League of Communists towards the working people and their problems and interests, towards the working self-management organs, towards the delegate system and SAWPY, as a front, and not toward the apparatus of power and authority structures.

The commission also stressed the importance of publicizing the work of League of Communists basic organizations and organs and of internal information within the LCY. It is proposed, Mijulic said, that these questions be examined separately and settled in a specific way by the statute. The LCY statute says that "the work of the League of Communists and its members is public and constantly subject to the assessment and criticism of the working class, of the working people and of their self-management and sociopolitical organizations and communities." The question is how to achieve publicity for the work and subordination to the public's assessment and criticism. This can be done by establishing, in addition to open meetings -- which, let it be said in passing, are attended by very few people who are not League of Communists members -- the commitment of basic organizations periodically to brief the working people and citizens about their assessments and proposals to resolve a question or a problem, or by informing them about the results of their activity, or by other things.

The commission did not conduct an extensive discussion on internal information within the League of Communists; however, it was noted that a timely and full information reaching League of Communist members is a condition enabling the communists to take part in the formulation and implementatin of League of Communists policy. This is an elementary demand of democratic centralism and a condition for the implementation of the ideological and political unity of the communists and for the attainment of an appropriate action capability of League of Communist organs and basic organizations. It was proposed that the statute lay down that incomplete and untimely informatin to League of Communist basic organizations and vice-versa carries a political responsibility, particularly if a situation arises which could have been "forestalled" through joint ideological and political action.

In this connection it was pointed out in the discussion that in the relations between the organs and basic organizations certain vestiges of the division into the creators of policy and those empowered to pass the decision, on the one hand, and those who carry them out, on the other hand, should be overcome in a more resolute fashion.

At its sessions the commission also discussed the power of politico-executive organs. It was noted, he said, that they are great and that politico-executive organs, in terms of the powers they have, are in fact the main organs in the League of Communists. It was mentioned that according to the LCY statute, to give an example, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee "defines the current policy and guides the overall activity of the league," and that it "lays down concrete political stands on all key problems of the overall social development toward whose solution all Leagues of Communists of the republics and autonomous provinces, and all organizations and members should operate efficiently.

It is considered that the top organ of the LCY, that is the Central Committee, can also have such powers and the Presidium only in exceptional circumstances when the situation calls for the speedy adoption of decisions and speedy activity. While as president of the LCY, Comrade Tito managed the work of the Presidium, such powers were understandable. The commission assessed that after Tito, the Presidium cannot play such a role. The Central Committee Presidium is in agreement with this assessment and with the commission's proposals. The report also contains other proposals aimed at strengthening the role of the LCY Central Committee.

Furthermore, the commission has also raised the question of whether the president of the Presidium or the elected president of the LCY Central Committee should manage the work of the Central Committee Presidium. In the debates it was stressed that the election of the Central Committee president would contribute to strengthening the role of the Central Committee, that it would be logical for the Central Committee to have its own president, that in the republics and provinces too presidents of the central committees and provincial committees should be elected, and so forth. On the other hand, it was stressed that the election of the president of the Presidium is more in line with the collective work and responsibility of the Presidium, that we have already adopted such a solution and that it has proved to be a good one. The Central Committee Presidium is of the view that a president of the Presidium and not of the Central Committee should be elected. Of course, the possibility of further discussion of this issue is not excluded, Branko Mikulic stressed.

In connection with the election method of Central Committee members, the commission is of the view that the present practice should be retained, that is, that Central Committee members should be elected at republican, provincial and army conferences, while the LCY Congress should endorse the elections. This procedure should be regulated by the LCY statute. Article 25 of the standing order of the 11th LCY Congress has been mentioned as a possible solution, with the proviso that the second paragraph of this article be carefully examined. The Central Committee Presidium is in agreement with this view of the commission.

At the commission's session an exhaustive debate was also held on the method of submitting candidature and electing members of the League of Communists organs. There is the undivided view that in the procedure of submitting candidature several candidates should be nominated and, in a democratic debate, in organs charged to do this, the assessments of which candidates best meet all the criteria and demands, and thus should remain on the list, should be coordinated. The relevant League of Communists organs should acquaint the proposers, that is the basic League of Communists organizations, municipal conferences, central and provincial committees and the LCY organization committee in the Yugoslav People's Army (depending on the organ for which the LCY organ is carrying out the submission of candidature) with these assessments along with the necessary explanations and substantiation. This also implies full information about everybody who has been proposed and adopted at the meetings of basic organizations and League of Communists organs as candidates for election to a certain League of Communists organ. This means that candidates are not merely registered at meetings but that a debate also be held on the proposals, and members of the basic League of Communists organization or organ present their views, through which it is then established whom a certain League of Communists organization or organ nominates as candidate.

Views were divided when there are several candidates on lists for which there is secret voting. It was pointed out that it could happen that the relevant social, national, sex and age structure of the members of the League of Communists organs could be called into question. As opposed to this warning it was said that we can guard ourselves against such consequences by first adopting relevant regulations which would be adhered to in the voting process. The commission is of the view that this question should not be regulated by the LCY statute, but that the corresponding attitude on this issue should be included in the resolution of the 12th LCY Congress. Attitudes on this should be formulated in the republics, provinces and the army organization, which would be in line with their individual circumstance. The Central Committee Presidium is also of the same view. The commission proposed alternatives, when are the decisions of the basic League of Communists organizations and organs valid? [as received] Is it when they are adopted by the majority of those present or by 2/3 of those present?

I think, Mikulic said, that the procedure of adopting decisions should be envisaged even when less members of the basic League of Communists organizations or League of Communists organs than indicated above are present even after the repeated call to a meeting. Along with this, the LCY statute should determine that the decisions of the LCY organs are valid if their sessions are attended by members of these organs from all the republican and provincial Leagues of Communists, that is, as is the procedure in the absence of members from a republican or provincial League of Communists. Article 30 of the standing order on the organization and method of work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium regulates this in the following manner: "If the session is not attended by members of the Presidium from a republic or province they are informed by urgent procedure and their views and opinions on the decisions adopted and attitudes taken are asked for." This provision of the standing order could serve as the basis for formulating the relevant paragraph in the LCY statute on this issue.

The commission also held an exhaustive debate on the following question: To whom is a member of the LCY Central Committee responsible for his work? We have proposed that the LCY statute should include the provision that an LCY Central Committee member is responsible to the Central Committee and to the LCY congress and that this responsibility also involves responsibility to the forum which elected the Central Committee member, that is to the congress of the republic, the conference of the province or army organization of the LCY. This should also be defined in even more precise terms, and the possibility of the central and provincial committees and the committee of the LCY organization in the army carrying out, in case of need or at personal request, the dissolution and election of a certain number of LCY Central Committee members should be separated from the question of responsibility.

The session of the Central Committee Presidium also discussed the working bodies of the Central Committee and of the Presidium. The alternative formulated in the report was endorsed, that is, that commissions, as permament working bodies, are founded by the Central Committee, while the Presidium forms ad hoc commissions, working groups, aktivs and other temporary bodies.

In addition to debates at the commission on organizing the League of Communists in republics, provinces, municipalities, towns and regional communities, consultations on this have also been held by central and provincial committees. In the commission's view, as well as that of the Central Committee Presidium, the basic principles of organizing the League of Communists in the republics and provinces, as well as in municipalities and towns should be laid down in the LCY statute while the concretization and elaboration of these principles should be made in the League of Communists statutes of the republics and provinces, in line with their needs and specific characteristics. Of course, the League of Communists statutes of the republics and provinces cannot establish those forms of organization which are precluded by the LCY statute, for instance.

The formation of League of Communist organs in work and composite organizations of the League of Communists, because this could cause negative consequences which would reflect on the LCY and the country as a whole.

The forms of action organization were debated on several occasions by the commssion, at consultative meetings in central and provincial committees and in particular by the commission for the League of Communists development and cadre policy of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The commission believes that the existing provisions in the LCY statute should be retained and confirmed, provisions which exclude the possibility of introducing permanent forms of action organization by communists in composite organizations, if basic organizations of associated labor from several sociopolitical communities are integrated into them. We have presented the necessary reasons for this in the report.

This question should not be treated from the practical and organizational point of view but as a fundamental issue affecting relations in the LCY and implementation of its role in society. To allow League of Communists organs (and this also includes permanent action conferences) to be formed in business communities and large systems would be tantamount to agreeing to the League of Communists being subordinated to "business-technocratic interests and tendencies in the technobureaucratic monopoly," to becoming "a collective policeman of the technobureaucratic structure" and to being truly federalized. Practice has demonstrated that temporary forms of action rallying by communists in composite organizations of associated labor and in large systems can also serve this function if they are prepared under the influence of the interests and goals of the technobureaucratic monopoly.

We know that the ties of direct cooperation and contacts between basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists are anyway "somewhat weak." At the time when we had League of Communist organs in work and composite organizations of associated labor they were even weaker. By introducing permament action conferences we would be going backwards. Then, the question of what the role of the basic organization of the League of ourselves to the danger of it being diminished in value and thus also to losing direct contact with workers in associated labor.

The fact is that certain weaknesses, dilemmas and practical difficulties have become manifest in the application of the temporary forms of action rallying by communists. But this cannot be a reason for the conclusion that these forms of organization should be abandoned or replaced by permament forms. League of Communists organs in municipalities, towns, provinces, republics and the federation should also concern themselves more with this issue, they should initiate and organize consultative meetings, conferences, meetings by communists, and so forth, also in organizations of associated labor and in socio-political communities. This has now, on the whole, been left to the initiatives of basic League of Communists organizations.

DJURANOVIC ASSESSES ECONOMIC SITUATION FOR 1981

LD240952 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, described 1981 as a difficult and complex year in Belgrade television's "Wednesday Selection" program tonight. It was a year of conflict, Djuranovic said, stating that, as an example, balance of payments problems showed that more had been consumed than had been produced. The fact that, basically, we have to face a shortage of foreign exchange shows that we have lived beyond our means, that we have spent more than we had.

According to Veselin Djuranovic, 1981 was also characterized by exceptional efforts to implement the policy of economic stabilization. He said the appraisals of the causes of economic instability, indispensable for full mobilization on key questions of stabilization, had been perceived more deeply and on a larger scale.

Definite positive results have been achieved this year. The level of industrial production is within the planned limits, employment is somewhat higher than had been expected and the blow against the standard of living and great growth in prices since the beginning of the year have been absorbed. The problems have not been resolved, but the shock has been dissipated, Djuranovic added. In the second half of the year reproduction links between organizations of associated labor started to be renewed. Also, according to current assessments, this year's deficit chould not exceed $1.7 (?billion), which is less than planned. Nevertheless, Djuranovic added, the tasks and aims in the struggle against inflation (?have not) been realized and that the rate of inflation will be nearly 39 percent. A separate problem is the liquidity of a number of business banks, and [words indistinct] speaking about the reality of a planned deficit in 1982 of $500 million, the president of the Federal Executive Council said this is a limit beyond which one should not go. The level of indebtedness has reached the limit, for a greater deficit could not be covered by current foreign currency inflow and credits. The fact that the country's deficit has been reduced by about $2 billion in 2 years demonstrates that this can be achieved.

Djuranovic emphasized that all the conditions exist for a considerable increase in exports. In the last 4 months alone Yugoslav exports to convertible markets have been increasing at the monthly rate of 27 percent. A radical orientation in favor of exports will undoubtedly affect the domestic market, for supplies of goods cannot be maintained without effort, but we need to ensure conditions for greater growth in industrial agricultural production [as received].

The president of the Federal Executive Council warned of the obligation to keep inflation next year down to 15 percent. In January an agreement on prices will be adopted, Djuranovic said, emphasizing that a sudden growth in prices should not be allowed in the first month of the new year, as had happened this year. According to some research, about 40 percent of products await new prices in January, which is very dangerous for the prices policy.

In answer to a question about whether a tightening of the belt is called for in 1982, Djuranovic replied that everything depends on how we all work, in factories, municipalities, assemblies and the Federal Executive Council. If the standard of living cannot increase, then we must ensure that it decreases less quickly, and this can be achieved through the fight for higher production and lower inflation, Veselin Djuranovic said.

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DISCUSSES 1982 BUDGET

LD190014 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1916 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG) -- According to the announcement by the Federal Secretariat of Information, the Federal Executive Council, chaired by Vice President Branislav Ikonic, tonight determined the draft budget of the federation for 1982. The total volume of expenditure of the federation's budget is envisaged at 203,875,000,000 dinars, which is 22.9 percent more than last year.

This is in keeping with the general social commitments and stances in the draft resolution on the socioeconomic development of Yugoslavia in the forthcoming year that general and joint expenditure cannot increase above the nominal growth of the social product.

The Federal Executive Council accepted the proposals put forward by the republics and provinces in the SFRY Assembly to reduce the contributions by the republics and provinces to the federation's budget and to increase them by 28 percent next year, which is a reduction of 4 billion dinars on the original proposal.

The volume of expenditure in the federation's budget is 0.1 percent lower than the expected growth of the social product in 1982. In the past 5 years, the participation of the federation's budget in the nominal social product has been reduced by 2.4 percent. However, the Federal Executive Council considers that the fall in the federation's budget participation in the social product from year to year does not represent an essential contribution to the policy of economic stabilization unless joint and general expenditure decreases at all levels and for all purposes.

The council also determined the draft law on the implementation of the federation's budget for 1982. Both these documents will be submitted to the SFRY Assembly where next week the committees of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces will continue to coordinate the stances of the republics and provinces on the resolution on the socioeconomic development of the country in the coming year.

The Federal Executive Council also considered several other questions within its competence.

FINANCE COMMITTEE REFUSES DRAFT BUDGET

LD190022 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG) -- The delegates of the Committee for Finance of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly have not accepted the replies of the Federal Executive Council to the questions posed in this committee on the federation's budget and thus returned the draft budget to the Federal Executive Council for further consideration. [Name indistinct] delegation did not accept the proposed volume of budget expenditure amounting to 203.8 billion dinars until this expenditure is covered in a suitable way.

The Federal Executive Council today informed th delegates that following a new estimate the revenue from customs will amount to 75.1 billion dinars instead of 71.2 billion. Thus, the percentage of these resources which will go to the fund for the stimulation of exports will be reduced from 65 to 61.8 percent, while the budget will be increased by 3.9 billion dinars. The contribution made by the republics and provinces to the federal budget will also be reduced by the same amount so that it will increase by 28.7 percent and not 35 percent as compared with last year.

However, the delegates maintained that this percentage is also too high and that republics and provinces cannot ensure such contribution without imposing additional burdens on the economy. The opinion prevailed in the discussion that this contribution should be limited to the level of growth of the social product, that is to 23 percent. Mito Pajovski, delegate from Macedonia, also made a concrete proposal as to how to achieve this.

According to him, the level of expenses for federal administration should be brought to the level of general expenditure, that is to the maximum growth of 17 percent. The same should also apply to the expenditure for noneconomic investments. The funds allocated from the customs revenue for the promotion of exports should, in his opinion remain at this year's level of 59.7 percent.

The proposed coordination of the budget for next year does not concern only the level of contribution by the republics and provinces.

Thus the Montenegro delegation adopted the attitude that it cannot give its consent to the present text until the Federal Executive Council gives a concrete answer as to how it intends to make good the resources which the budget owes to this republic for the social protection of the war disabled. According to Ljubo Markovic, in the past 2 years the federal treasury paid to Montenegro 700 million dinars less than it was obliged to do by law. Nobody can give up old debts at the expense of stabilization, he said.

The delegation of the Croat Assembly also demanded a reduction in the contribution by the republics and provinces, but on the basis of a reduction in general and joint expenditure.

The Finance Committee will continue its budget coordination once the Federal Executive Council expresses its opinion on all these proposals.

TRADE DEFICIT REDUCED; EXPORTS INCREASED

AU201708 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 81 p 7

[Ljiljana Zorkic report]

[Summary] In the first 9 months of this year, the country's balance of payments deficit was $1,096,000,000 lower than in the same period of last year. The balance of payments deficit in trade with the convertible currency area was reduced by $517 million. These encouraging figures were announced by Ante Zmijarevic, deputy director of the Federal Institute for Social Planning, at yesterday's session of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of the Republics and Provinces.

In the first 8 months of this year, the average monthly exports to the convertible currency area were worth $473 million, while in the September-November period, the average monthly value of these exports was $582 million, or an increase of 23 percent over the monthly average for the first 9 months of this year.

On 30 June this year, the balance of payments deficit in the trade with the coveritble currency area totaled $2,435,000,000, while at the end of October it totaled $1.75 billion. This has been achieved by reduced imports and increased exports.

In the first 9 months of this year, Bosnia-Hercegovina realized a balance of payments deficit of $116 million, whereas it had planned for a deficit of $123 million by the end of the year; Montenegro had a deficit of $89 million, while it had planned for $93 million; Croatia had a deficit of $101 million, while it had planned for a surplus of $366 million; Macedonia had a deficit of $81 million, while it had evisaged a deficit of $188 million; Slovenia also had a deficit of $157 million, although it had planned to achieve a surplus of $15 million by the end of the year.

The Socialist Republic of Serbia realized a deficit of $761 million in the first 9 months of this year, while it had planned a deficit of $631 million. The Socialist Republic of Serbia proper, without the two republics, had a deficit of $361 million, although it had planed a deficit of $192 million by the end of the year. Kosovo had a deficit of $108 million, while it had planned a deficit of $146 million. Vojvodina had a deficit of $292 million, while it had planned a deficit of $293 million at the end of the year.

According to the data about exports and imports which Ante Zmijarevic announced in the SFRY Assembly yesterday, in the period until 30 November, the overall volume of exports increased 17 percent compared with the same period of last year. Exports to the convertible currency area increased 6 percent and to the clearing area 39 percent.

Imports increased 4 percent compared with the same period of last year, where as imports from the convertible currency area increased only 1 percent and from the clearing area 14 percent.

In the 11 months of this year, exports covered 66 percent of imports, compared with 58 percent in the same period of last year. In the first 11 months of this year, exports to the convertible currency area covered 52 percent of imports, compared with 49 percent in the same period last year. Exports to the clearing area exceeded imports from that area by some 6 percent.

The trends in invisible trade are somewhat more favorable than envisaged by Yugoslavia's balance of payments plan. According to the data for the first 10 months of this year, incomes from tourism increased 32 percent compared with the same period of last year, those of transportation 15 percent, construction work abroad 38 percent, while the remittances of workers from abroad increased 27 percent.

MORE LOSSES IN ECONOMIC WORK ORGANIZATIONS

AU160900 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 81 p 8

[LJ. Cudomirovic report]

[Summary] In the first 9 months of this year, 1,959 basic organizations of associated labor in the economy operated at a loss, or 176 more in the same period last year. In 1980, the work collectives operating at a loss employed 381,901 workers, while this year they employed 401,651 workers. Since the first 9 months of this year the economy employed a total number of 4,647,453 workers. This means that the work collectives operating at a loss employed 8.6 percent of all those employed, compared with 8.4 percent last year.

In the first 9 months of last year, the total losses amounted to 19,583,000,000 dinars, while in the same period of this year they totaled 38,867,000,000 dinars, or 98.4 percent more than last year. According to the latest data of the Yugoslav Social Accounting Service, losses in industry totaled 30.4 billion dinars, or 93.9 percent more than in the same period of last year, and 14.7 billion more compared with the year before last. The losses of the oil processing plants total 12.1 billion dinars, or more than twelve times the losses of last year.

In the first 9 months of this year, losses in Croatia totaled 15.8 billion dinars and 7.2 billion dinars in Vojvodina, in both cases due to oil. In Vojvodina, this year's losses increased 162 percent compared with last year and in Croatia 158 percent. The lowest increase in the current losses in the first 9 months of this year were in Serbia proper with 31 percent and in Slovenia with 35 percent.

The losses in the power production industry increased 69 percent, in the building industry 214 percent, in transportation 89 percent, in the housing-communal activity 397 percent and in trade organizations 78 percent.

FORMER OFFICIAL RECEIVES 7 YEARS FOR ESPIONAGE

LD181632 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Belgrade District Court Bench today passed judgement, following court proceedings, on Sevcet Hasani (born 1935). He had been pronounced guilty of the crime of espionage, abuse of his official position and falisification of official documents, and was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. While serving abroad, Hasani handed over confidential official data to a member of a foreign service during 1979 and 1980, and in addition forged a number of official documents, while also acquiring illegal property by abuse of his position.

POLITIKA COMMENTARY ON RELATIONS IN SERBIA CITED

LD282152 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1835 GMT 28 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG) -- In its issue tomorrow, POLITIKA carries a commentary by its editor Slavoljub Djukic on relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, devoted to the session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee.

The easiest thing of all was to agree on the assessment of the state of relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the commentary says, which, in the view of all the speakers in the debate, has reached an all-time low: "We divided ourselves into three areas whether we admit this publicly or not." There was more a search for confrontations than to find a common tongue: "Instead of an exchange of views, we had an exchange of notes."

This is a logical consequence, it was said, of the undefined position of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a state and of the persistent attempt by the provinces to separate themselves from the republic as an entity. The position and the role of the provinces as a constituent element of federalism is being implemented to the fullest, it was often stressed, but at the same time, togetherness and the constitutional position of the provinces as parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia are not implemented, not even with regard to some fundamental issues.

In this respect a whole series of examples were listed, from the failure to regulate relations in the sphere of all-people's defense, security and economic planning to the federalization of sociopolitical organizations and the three-member partnership in which the state and political institutions of the Socialist Republic of Serbia increasingly have been in a situation of operating only in the republic proper.

Much time was devoted to the assertion that togetherness should be encouraged by linking up on the basis of self-management and not by strengthening the state. All agreed with this but many felt the need to say that, in this case, it is not a question of creating genuine space for self-management but of the attempt to redistribute power and to decentralize etatism. It is perfectly true that republican and provincial state socialism destroy the logic of agreement-reaching: "But it is difficult to understand the slogan 'Self-Management Is Important and Not the State' if what is behind this slogan is strengthening state intervention precisely in that area which is naturally the area of self-management, while the influences of the republic, as a state, in the sphere where the state is and remains until such time as it historically necessary, are being disputed as for instance in the sphere of defense and security."

The assertion that even raising talks on relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia represents encouragement to Serbian nationalism and revival of unitarist aspirations was refuted with more temperament and often with raised voices. Nationalism is, unfortunately, expanding everywhere to a lesser, greater or dramatic extent. It remains for us to deliberate about the fact that this is taking place precisely in the community in which the equality of the nations and nationalities has reached a level which has not, without any exaggeration, been registered in the history of relations. But by putting, in this case, the main emphasis on the danger from Serbian nationalism, the problem of relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in our entire society, it was said, is clouded over.

It is appropriate to draw attention here in particular to the fact that the Central Committee unanimously adopted Tihomir Vlaskalic's report as the ideopolitical basis for the further activity of the Serbian League of Communists. This is the only concrete conclusion of this gathering, along with the agreement that fuller conclusions be adopted by the middle of January next year.

After all this, we can expect that agreement will soon be achieved at the republican level on some essential issues such as national defense, security and the economic plan, though in the situation which has arisen this is no small thing.

We think that something which is more important exists. What we need is a new atmosphere in which, as stated, there will be no suspicions and rivalry, in which we shall not create within ourselves the practically conditioned reflex that somebody is going to impute something to us.

DJURANOVIC, STAMBOLIC MEET KOSOVO LEADERS

AU151530 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 81 p 3

[Text] Pristina, 12 Dec (TANJUG) -- The Provincial Secretariat for Information today issued a statement on last night's talks involving Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; Ivan Stambolic, president of the Serbian Executive Council, and their associates at the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in which Ali Sukrija, president of the Kosovo Presidency; Veli Deva, president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists; and Ilija Vakic, president of the Provincial Assembly also participated. The statement stresses that Riza Sapundzija, president of the Kosovo Executive Council, informed Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and other participants in the talks about the political and economic situation in the province, about its draft social development plan in the current 5-year plan and about certain topical questions of Kosovo's socio-economic development this year and next.

It was stressed that the existing processes point to a stabilization of the situation, that the process of consolidation has begun, but that the political-security situation in Kosovo continues to be rather complex and burdened by many problems. In this connection, it was pointed to the exceptional importance of implementing the political platform for the LCY activity in developing socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo, as the basis for the long-term activity of all organized socialist forces in the province and the entire country.

The need to adopt the social plan of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for the current 5-year plan period by the end of the year was stressed. It was also stressed that the entire concept of development should serve the basic socio-economic problems in the province. The importance of changing the economic structure so as to create greater opportunities for employment, by means of linking the associated labor of the province with the associated labor in the country, was particularly stressed. It was noted that many projects and programs exist and it was agreed that their usefulness and the possibility of realizing them quickly be assessed as soon as possible.

In order to implement the agreed policy of achieving the quickest possible socioeconomic development of the province in the current planning period, the need to adopt social accords on special measures and activities for the quickest possible development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and for pooling part of resources of the federal fund, upon which the draft social plan of the province is partially based, was particularly stressed.

KOSOVO PROVINCIAL LC COMMITTEE MEETS 21 DEC

LD212244 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Pristina, 21 Dec (TANJUG) -- The political platform for LCY action in the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo represents a very important document because in a well-argued way it enhances and deepens the understanding of the counterrevolutionary events which happened in the province. With this kind of content it will make it possible for the activists and all working people, and particularly for the young people, to more easily take off the mask of the organizers of these events, the mask of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

In this way the platform will have an even greater influence on the mobilization of all the nations and nationalities in the province with a view to accelerating political and economic stabilization in Kosovo.

This assessment was made by Sinan Hasani, a member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, in his introductory address at the session today of the Provincial Committee which, under the chairmanship of Veli Deva, discussed the ideopolitical tasks of the League of Communists of Kosovo in the implementation of the political platform laid down at the 22nd plenum of the LCY Central Committee.

Zivorad Misic, a member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia, and Svetozar Durutovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, took part in the proceedings at the session.

At the beginning of his report Sinan Hasani first repeated the political assessment already pronounced in many quarters: that sociopolitical forces in Kosovo have a full insight into the political situation in the province and that they hold its sometimes tangled threads firmly in their hands, and then noted the following:

"The counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo left behind a trial of serious and unfavorable consequences which are now being overcome as a result of exceedingly painstaking work. Apart from that, we still encounter enemy activity of lesser or greater intensity. The enemy goes on fighting for the implementation of its objectives but it is now changing forms of his activity, trying to adapt himself to the new circumstances which in any case do not suit his book."

Continuing his report Sinan Hasani dwelt on some moments which, he noted, shed even more light on individual facts on the political point of departure of the enemy. When Albanian nationalists and irredentists realized that they could not attain their objectives with nationalistic and fascist slogans they not only began to resort to leftwing slogans but proclaimed themselves to be a leftwing organization. Accordingly, it is clear why the enemy slogans and platform are totally contradictory and devoid of all meaning. However, as far as the slogan "Kosovo-Republic" is concerened, it is increasingly becoming clear to the working people and citizens in the province that it is not trotted out allegedly because Kosovo has not resolved its status in our socialist community but in order to inflict the greatest possible blow on Yugoslavia. This enemy objective has received unreserved support by the Albanian leadership and also by many political-emigre organizations in Western countries, said Hasani. He stressed that ideopolitical and propaganda activity in the province during the ensuing period must be even more organized and intensive so as to fully unmask the evil intentions of the enemy.

Having recalled that one of the most important reasons of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo was the erroneous policy conducted by the leadership, especially by the political leadership in the province, and that the causes of these manifestations could not be sought in the backwardness of the province but, on the contrary, in its very fast development and transformation, Sinan Hasani said:

There is every prospect that in our development policy up to 1985 we shall not be able to introduce such changes as would mean a radical transformation. The main reason lies in the fact that the development so far has been such that it gave priority to unfavorable directions of development during this medium-term period, too. However, we take the view that in these conditions we must take a number of measures which will ensure a serious reorientation toward the establishment of a more favorable economic structure in the province. Amplifying this demand, Hasani stressed that it was necessary for existing big economic plants, particularly those in non-ferrous metallurgy and energy, to establish in greater measure the links with the economy of the country, and that a comprehensive mobilization be carried out to use the great potentials offered by agriculture and the countryside.

Also, a comprehensive initiative of all factors in the province on the plane of negotiations and agreement-seeking with the economy outside the province is required.

Proceeding from the fact that one of the reasons which made possible escalation of Albanian nationalist and irredentism lies in the undeveloped nature of socialist self-management in all the pores of enconomic and social life in the province, Sinan Hasani stressed that decisive measures have to be taken to give the self-management mechanism a shot in the arm so that it may become an all-round movement accepted and applied in all the cells of our society.

A part of his introductory report was devoted to the tasks of socialist forces in the struggle against nationalistic and irredentist indoctrination which has been going on for years and which embraced many areas of economic, political and social life in the province. Hasani stressed that it was significant that the intelligentsia in the province by and large dissociated itself from the counterrevolutionary actions and denounced them. However, there are still many tasks in this sphere. First and foremost, Hasani stressed, every intellectual worker is obliged in the case of attacks on the most shining achievements of our revolution to show his socialist awareness and citizen boldness to stand up in their defense and to protect them. Our intellectuals, Hasani stressed, must not remain silent or take up a neutral posture vis-a-vis the crude onslaught on our community.

The platform makes the further affirmation of Albanian nationality an explicit task. This affirmation, Hasani said, is primarily possible within the framework of cooperation between the Albanian nationality and other nations and nationalities in the province, the republic of Serbia and in the federation. It can only be implemented in their togetherness, in an atmosphere of reciprocal respect and understanding.

Continuing his report, Hasani noted that, as time goes on, one increasingly realizes the many consequences which the counter-revolutionary events left behind in the field of international relations. Relations and trust cooled off, sometimes even among individual cadres of various nationalities. Therefore a resolute struggle must be conducted against all actions and conduct which are directed against togetherness, brotherhood and unity. Only through revolutionary struggle of the communists -- Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and members of other nations and nationalities -- can we strengthen unity in the League of Communists and restore the mutual trust among the nations and nationalities in the province. We did it during the most difficult days of the occupation and there is no reason why we couldn't do it now, Hasani stressed.

In his introductory report at a session today of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Sinan Hasani said that he considered it justified that earlier on in the conclusions and now in the platform the necessity is stressed of the implementation of the fullest possible cooperation along the province-republic of Serbia line. All the initiatives stemming from the possibility of further development of socialist self-management relations, and on the basis of the stands of the League of Communists, of the SFRY Constitution, and of the republican and provincial constitutions, must be supported and further developed unreservedly. Of course, Hasani added, in so doing we must bear in mind the fact that anything which as a result of Albanian nationalist indoctrination and provincial etatism disrupted relations and cooperation between the province and the Republic of Serbia we cannot oppose from positions with inherent tendencies of a republican etatism, but from positions of our socialist self-management theory and practice.

Sinan Hasani devoted the concluding part of his report to the tasks during the forthcoming elections and in this connection said among other things:

"It was impossible to overcome the crisis caused by enemy actions without bringing some order into the cadre situation in the provincial leadership, which was shown to have pursued a wrong policy and in so doing makes possible the welling up of nationalism."

"The aim was to remove from their position the most responsible officials in the province. A reconstruction of the Provincial Committee Presidium was carried out and some officials in cultural and scientific institutions, in public information media, at the university and so forth were replaced. Similar changes were also carried out in a number of municipalities."

Hasani recalled that, as is known, this process took place, particularly at the provincial level, through resignations being tendered -- in most cases these resignations were asked for -- and informed the participants in the session that the Presidium of the Provincial Committee, in agreement with appropriate LCY organs, had taken the stand that in relation to the comrades who because of political mistakes and lapses had been removed from various functions no charges of criminal responsibility should be brought without some additional argumentation. It is also believed that an extension of political responsibility in relation to these comrades does not come into consideration, particularly if they work for the line of the League of Communists of Kosovo, the Provincial Committee, the League of Communists of Serbia and the LCY should display full unity, Hasani said, and added that with a resolute and consistent application of democratic principles of the cadre policy during the forthcoming elections a number of negative manifestations which had come to the fore in this area will be eliminated most successfully.

Referring to the inefficiency of the League of Communists of Kosovo and its passive attitude toward enemy activity during the previous period Luka Vlahovic mentioned the fact that during a period of 7 years only 42 members had been expelled from League of Communists whose ideological positions were contrary to the line of the LCY. Vlahovic recalled that individual communists had pointed out the liberalistic attitude toward enemy activity and that they had been expelled from the League of Communists for doing so. He expressed the view that these cases should be reexamined. In connection with the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo he said that the previous leadership did not accept the assessment that the people were leaving because of the pressure expressed through national majorization and mentioned that even today there were manifestations of minimizing the problems of Serb and Montenegrin emigration from Kosovo.

At its session today the Provincial Committee passed the decision to hold the 13th Conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo in April next year in Pristina.

At the end of their work today the Provincial Committee members accepted the request by Dzavid Nimani to be relieved of the duty of the member of the Provincial Committee and of the member of the LCY Central Committee. As is known in July this year Dzavid Nimani resigned the office of the president and member of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The Provincial Committee suggested to the League of Communists Central Committee of Serbia that it expel from its ranks Fahredin Gunga, until recently manager of Pristina television. Explaining this proposal Veli Deva recalled the well-known incident which happened over 1 year ago when Fahredin Gunga physically assaulted the 1941 partisan and League of Communists member Draginja Arsic.

The session today also passed the decision to expel from the Provincial Committee Mustafa Sefedini, former Kosovo provincial secretary of internal affairs, because of many shortcomings displayed in the work of the service that he headed.

VAKIC STRESSES NEED TO ELIMINATE SHORTCOMINGS

LD240942 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1403 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Pristina, 23 Dec (TANJUG) -- Agreement was reached in the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo today with the presidents of assemblies of all Kosovo municipalities aimed at eliminating any anomalies which accompany the more efficient realization of legality, agreements and accords and anything negative which affects the political mood of working people and citizens.

The agreement proceeds from the attitudes and appraisals expressed in the political platform for the LCY's action in the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity in Kosovo, the conclusions of the last session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists and shortcomings experienced in the functioning of delegate assemblies and their organs. Pointing to the tasks facing the province's assembly, municipal assemblies and other delegate institutions and their bodies and organs, Ilija Vakic, president of the Kosovo Assembly, stressed in his introductory remarks that a radical change must be made in the work of these institutions. This presupposes direct responsibility and the elimination of all those who hinder the implementation of agreements, laws, attitudes and conclusions and fail to contribute to the stabilization of the province's political and economic situation.

Conditions must be ensured for the complete realization of constitutional freedoms, rights and duties and the equality of all the working people and nations and nationalities and for the strengthening of trust, togetherness, brotherhood and unity, Vakic said. It is impermissible, he warned, that the assemblies and their organs should fail to concern themselves with the phenonenon of various pressures on citizens and even with physical attacks by men of violence. Now this is an obligation only of the League of Communists and the prosecution organs. It is likewise impermissible that various malversations should be perpetrated, that citizens should have to spend days going from one official to another and that they should be unable to obtain their rights for months and even years. We must suppress all forms of group-property and technocratic behavior, but we must also increase citizens' feeling of responsibility for carrying out their obligations to society. Organs of administration, judiciary organs, communal services and all the institutions of special social interest must critically reexamine their own behavior and eliminate from their own ranks all those individuals whose behavior and work are not in keeping with our self-managing norms, whoever they are and whatever they call themselves, Vakic said, demanding that these people be branded publicly.

He also expressed his dissatisfaction with the way the causes of the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins were being analyzed and spoke in favor of creating the kind of atmosphere in which men of violence and enemies would not be able to exert pressure on the non-Albanian population and thus disgrace all the honest people of Kosovo before the Yugoslav public. Albanian comrades are particularly responsible for settling accounts with them, Vakic said.

At today's meeting particular reference was made to consultations and communications between the Kosovo Assembly, the municipal assemblies, and their organs and bodies. It was critically remarked that the draft program of the Provincial Assembly's work next year was not a reflection of mutual agreement and synchronization of questions which should be on the Assembly's agenda in 1982. Apart from stressing that this old practice should be abandoned, the general conclusion was that the uppermost task of the delegate assemblies, administrative organs and the entire delegate mechanism in further efforts to stabilize the situation in the province was that they should serve the further development of socialist self-managing relations, the delay of which is one of the most important causes of the emergence of enemy and counterrevolutionary forces and foreign ideologies.

BORBA OBJECTS TO SOVIET REPORTS ON KOSOVO

AU281825 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Dec 81 p 8

[Z. Madzuka commentary: "A Slip or a Calculation, or How IZVESTIYA and TASS Report on the Kosovo Situation"]

[Text] Much has been written about the events in Kosovo and much continues to be written, most frequently — and even most critically -- precisely in Yugoslavia, in the Yugoslav press which in this case, like in any other, strives to fully inform the public.

Soviet newspapers have also written about the events in Kosovo; recently a report appeared in the government organ IZVESTIYA which informs its readers by way of a TASS report. But the report does not come either from Belgrade, where TASS has its permanent correspondent, or from Pristina, for instance, which this correspondent can visit. The report is not based on Yugoslav reports and assessments of the events in Yugoslavia, either. It comes from Rome.

According to reports by Italian journalists -- it is said at the very beginning of the IZVESTIYA article -- who recently visited Kosovo, "strikes have occurred there among workers and students." This wording, in this way -- published in the Soviet information media for the first time in such a manner -- is followed by lines which probably should supplement the efforts to enhance the "strike report" further. The events in Kosovo are reported and assessed exclusively in dark, almost dramatically warning tones. In the absence of any authentic reports, the article mentions "fascist symbols written" on the building of the Provincial Committee and points out "arrests and army and security forces units protecting social order..."

Although, of course, IZVESTIYA has the right to decide whether and how to report on Yugoslavia, in keeping with its desires and inclinations, and whether it will report from Belgrade or Rome, Veinna or Sofia, for instance, it is certain that this kind of selection and tone of "reports about Kosovo" do not correspond to the facts.

From the very beginning of the Kosovo events it was clear -- and this was said publicly at numerous sessions of organs of the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations -- that it was a matter of a counterrevolutionary and hostile attack on the brotherhood and unity, the constitutional order and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. This attack met with resolute resistance and condemnation by the Albanian people in Kosovo and by all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. The world public has been exhaustively informed about it. A political platform of the LCY Central Committee on the further development of self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo was recently adopted, and widespread activities have begun in connection with this comprehensive document.

Therefore, when TASS and IZVESTIYA, with a curious twisting of the antirevolutionary attacks, describe these hostile activities as some kind of "strikes among workers and students," it is either a slip by the correspondent or negligence by the editor. Or is it, perhaps, the matter of some other calculations?

FOUR SENTENCED FOR HOSTILE ACTIVITY IN KOSOVO

LD241630 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 24 Dec 81

[Text] Zenica, 24 Dec (TANJUG) -- Grand District Criminal Court in Zenica, presided over by Mensur Telalovic, today passed sentence on Jakub (Muja) Zonic (47), a private metal-lathe operator, born in Mrkonjic Grad, and in permanent resident in Donji Vakuf; his wife Subija (50), retired; and also on Dragutin (Adolfa) Banusic (62), private builder from Banja Luka, and Seljam (Miftara) Kruezi (35), born in the village of Brezma near Dragas in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, otherwise owner of a cafe in Donji Vakuf.

Jakub Zonic was sentenced to 11 years in prison for three crimes of which he was accused in the indictment read by Zenica district public prosecutor Dzemaludin Mutalcic: for taking part in hostile activity against our country, for hostile propaganda and for the crime of damaging the reputation of the SFRY. Dragutin Banusic, who has been convicted eight times before -- once to 20 years hard labor for war crimes -- was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment for the crime of hostile propaganda; for the same crime Seljam Kruezi was sentenced to 1 and 1/2 years while Subhija Zonic was sentenced to 1 year imprisonment for the crime of aiding and abbetting her husband's participation in hostile activity.

In addition, the judicial bench confiscated all the property of Jakub Zonic, which is assessed at [figure indistinct] tens of millions of dinars.

During the 7 days of the main hearing, after statements by about 20 witnesses and admissions on the part of accused, the indictment was confirmed and it was established that the accused had committed the crimes of which they were accused.

Jakub Zonic established connections with members of the Ustasha emigration in the FRG, briefed their representatives of his hostile activity in Yugoslavia and sought assistance and cooperation from them. He also wrote the proclamation of the so-called leadership of the Revolutionary Workers' Party of Federal Yugoslavia which he duplicated and recorded on tape, dabbling with the thought of broadcasting this proclamation and the song entitled "Brother Workers" which he wrote, both of which are full of hostile content, either over his own radio station which he intended to acquire or by forcing one of our television or radio stations by armed attack. The proclamation, intended for the working people and citizens of Yugoslavia, calls for overturning the sociopolitical system, claiming that it was a vassalizing system, and then for the introduction of a multiparty system without the participation of communists. It is underlined that there is no self-management in Yugoslavia, that the people and the revolution have been deceived and that those who are to blame for this are the highest ranking state and party leaders who should, therefore, be eliminated, and that a favorable time has arrived to raise a general revolt and uprising against the present system. He justified the recent acts of Albanian nationalists and irredentists. In addition, he insulted the personality and work of Comrade Tito in the most crude fashion, during the latter's illness and after his death.

Dragutin Banusic advocated the creation of a separate Croatian state, "or the Croat people is superior to the othersand it should rule," as well as the creation of illegal groups to destroy the present sociopolitical system which "owing to the failure to operate self-management, and owing to the grave, insuperable economic crisis, can no longer survive."

Seljam Kruezi also asserted that Albanian nationalists are right to seek that Kosovo should become a republic, stressing that Serbia suppresses them, and "that only Albania can undertake the protection of Albanians in Kosovo" and "that Enver Hoxha is a god for all Albanians wherever they live and work" and so forth.

Subhija Zonic helped her husband Jakub in committing the crime of hostile activity, copying for him texts of the proclamation and song, answering the mail from emigres in the FRG and others, even though she knew that he was carrying out hostile activity.

CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY REPORTS LOSSES IN KOSOVO

AU152150 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Summary] The Provincial Council of Construction Workers of the Kosovo Trade Union Council today discussed the activity of the construction and construction materials organizations. The general income of the united work organizations of Kosovo concerned with construction in the first 9 months of this year was 22 percent greater than in the same period last year. However, this was mostly the result of increase in trade prices rather than directly from work. If we add to this the fact that expenditures increased by 33 percent, then it is clear that construction work was not satisfactory. The general losses in new construction was 417,457,000 dinars, while last year in the same period there was a loss of about 9,000,300 dinars. This testifies to the fact that the situation has worsened rather than improved, especially in the largest organization, Ramiz Sadiku said in Pristina. Expenses greater than profits have occurred in other enterprises.

A better situation exists in the construction materials production organizations than in construction itself. Efforts are being made to find new possibilities to regulate the situation. However, the losses have been mainly caused by "objective" factors, although "subjective factors" have aided them. If all reserves were fully exploited the losses would be lessened.

PRISTINA RADIO, TV AUTHORS DISCUSS INVOLVEMENT

AU190950 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] As part of the preparations for the session of the Presidium of the SAWP Provincial Conference which will assess the involvement of the information media in the province, those responsible for programming at the radio-television Pristina today discussed the involvement of the radio and television editors in the political actions to stabilize the political situation in Kosovo, with a special reference to the current situation. The discussion was attended by several members of the Presidium headed by Azem Vlasi, president of the Provincial Conference.

Taking part in the discussion, Azem Vlasi pointed out that the radio and television programs contained much detailed reporting and many special broadcasts recently, but they should be permeated more with personal and responsible involvement of the authors along the line of the positions and assessments of the action program of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and the political platform of the LCY Central Committee on the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo.

'WEAKNESSES' IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA NOTED

LD280046 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 81

[Text] It has been said many times that the many weaknesses which we observe should be elininated as quickly and as efficiently as possible. This is above all the task of the League of Communists. In Bosnia-Hercegovina the communists are resolved to note these weaknesses, to establish specific responsibility and to see that -- as our Sarajevo correspondent Ahmet Metiluevic stresses -- relevant measures are taken against the exponents of these weaknesses.

Numerous weaknesses have been placed under the magnifying glass with the aim of establishing their causes and exponents. But first of all it is necessary to establish their roots. Thus, we know now that a concrete analysis must be made of the many laws and decisions in order to see which loopholes have made their circumvention possible.

The debates which are held in basic League of Communists organizations have indicated many phenomena against which communists and all working people must fight. Above all, attention is drawn to weaknesses in the sphere of tax policy which lead to serious stratification, unjustified social differences and enrichment of individuals at the expense of society and somebody else's work.

This particularly angers the working people and citizens and leads to political problems. Negative phenomena in the field of employment, favoritism, privileges, abuse of social position and use of friendships and family connections also belong in this area. When working people and citizens see these things, it causes particular disatisfaction among them.

All this as well as a series of other negative phenomena, such as unjustified price increases, poor supply of the market with food -- even when there are no objective reasons for it -- should be cleared up in the broad sociopolitical action initiated by Bosnia-Hercegovina's League of Communists.